The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
1630 · 1620
1692 · 1892

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PUBLICATIONS

OF

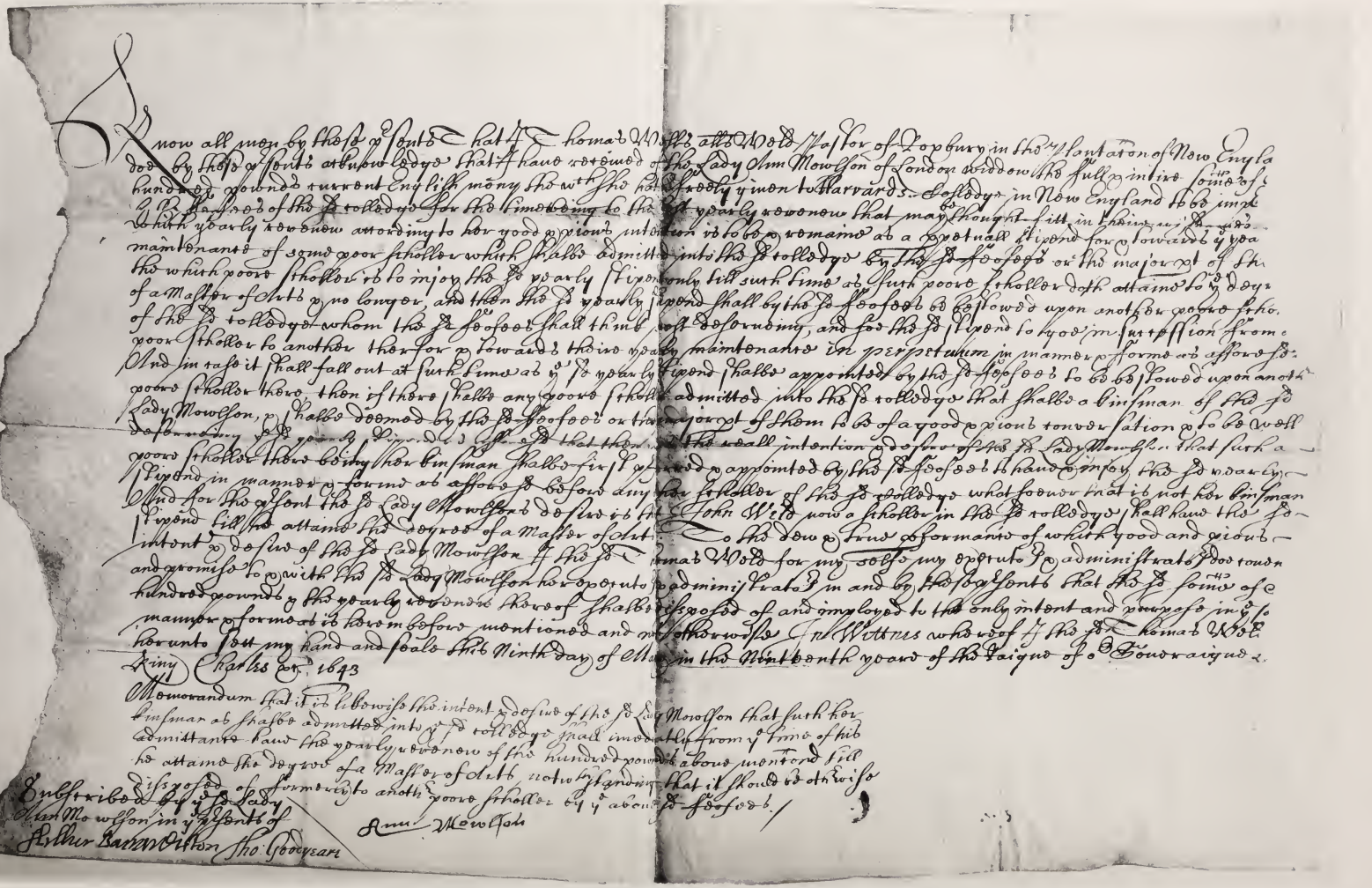
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1892–1894

Committee of Publication.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.
HENRY WILLIAMS.
JOHN NOBLE.
EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER.
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.



FAC-SIMILE OF LADY MOWLSON'S DEED OF GIFT, 1643.

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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME I.

TRANSACTIONS

1892–1894

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1895

University Press:
John Wilson and Son, Cambridge.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE Committee of Publication submit herewith the first volume of the Publications of the Society. The question of methods was discussed by the Council in 1893, and the work of the Committee has been performed in accordance with instructions received from the Council at that time. In order that the scheme under which this volume has been issued may be fully comprehended, it may be well to present an extract from the Report of a Committee appointed to consider the Form and Title of the Society's Publications. That Committee reported as follows: —

First: They recommend that all Publications of the Society shall be uniform in size and style.

Second: They recommend for that purpose the Royal Octavo size, and that Roman fonts of type be used.

Third: They recommend that the series of volumes, whatever their contents, shall be called "The Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts," and the volumes be numbered consecutively.

Fourth: They recommend that the contents of the separate volumes of the Publications be classified, and that those which contain the Proceedings of the Meetings be given the sub-title of "Transactions," — the intention being to include under this sub-title all proceedings, communications, and papers read at meetings, except such special matter as may, for some exceptional reason, be deemed more suitable for classification under the other sub-title.

Fifth: They recommend that selections from the Archives of the Society, — reprints, or other matter not properly to be included in the "Transactions," — be printed in separate volumes of the Publications, to which they think the sub-title "Collections" may properly be given.

These recommendations were approved by the Council, 26 May, 1893.

It will be observed that the standard of size and shape adopted for the volumes is that which custom seems to have approved for works of this description, and that the selection of type was governed by the experience of generations of readers.

The custom prevails in many societies to issue in separate Series the volumes containing the Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society, and those devoted to the publication of selections from the Archives. This classification has certain advantages, but it is also attended with one evident disadvantage; namely, that, where a society has issued several parallel series of publications, their citation is apt to produce confusion in the minds of those not familiar with this custom. Though ignorance of the fact that there is a Volume V. of the Bulletin of a society as well as a Volume V. of the Proceedings and a Volume V. of the Collections of the same society may not justify a student in turning to the Bulletin or the Proceedings when the Collections are cited, still the determination of the Council to avoid the chance of error will, we think, be welcomed by those who have occasion to consult our Publications. The necessary classification of the material of the volumes will be preserved by devoting certain of them to the report of our Meetings, such volumes bearing the sub-title "Transactions," and by placing under the sub-title "Collections" all other publications. Facility of citation will be gained by the consecutive numbering of the volumes, under the general title "Publications."

The present volume will stand as the model after which our volumes of Transactions will be fashioned. The labor of preparing the system upon which the Proceedings of our Meetings are reported, and of determining the details connected with the typography adopted in text and notes, has required much time and patience. The Committee would fail in the performance of their duty if they neglected to state that the Society is much indebted to Mr. Henry H. Edes, Chairman of the Committee on Printing, for his patient supervision of the composition and press-work. The attractive appearance of the pages of this volume is largely due to his taste and good judgment.

The preparation of the Index has been intrusted to Mr. Lindsay Swift of the Boston Public Library. His instructions were to note the mention of every Name and Place, the Title of every Publication referred to in text or note, and to make a topical analysis sufficiently elaborate to give a general idea of the contents. In many volumes of this sort, separate indexes will be found for names, places, and subjects. It was thought best to incorporate all of these in one. There seems to be no adequate gain in the separate indexes, and in some respects they are a positive disadvantage. The Committee of Publication esteem it a happy circumstance that they were able to secure the services of so competent a person for the work of preparing the Index of our initial volume.

When the Committee entered upon their work they were instructed by the Council to assign to Volume I. as many of the Reports of our Meetings, including the papers presented there and furnished for publication, as would make a handy volume, the same to be denominated the first of the series, under the sub-title "Transactions." The number of pages fixed by the Committee as suitable for a Royal Octavo book is five hundred. The exigencies of any particular volume, including Preface and Index, may require more or

less than this number, but it is desirable that substantial uniformity in this respect shall be preserved, — a result easily attainable so far as the Transactions are concerned.

The Council instructed the Committee to proceed simultaneously in the preparation of Volume II. of the Publications, to which were assigned the Commissions and Instructions of the Royal Governors of the Province. It is not probable that these documents will furnish five hundred printed pages, but there are enough of them to make a volume by themselves; and it is obvious that in the publication of volumes under the sub-title "Collections" greater latitude will have to be allowed in this respect.

In conclusion, the Committee feel that they can congratulate the Society upon the creditable appearance of these pages.

Andrew McFarland Davis,
Henry Williams,
John Noble,
Edward Griffin Porter,
George Lyman Kittredge,
Committee of Publication.

POSTSCRIPT.

Boston, 1 May, 1896.

When about to go to press with the present volume, the Committee of Publication received the following letter. It will be observed that our associate, Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., no longer attributes to Washington the handwriting of the draught of the original plan for establishing the Society of the Cincinnati, to which reference is made in our Transactions for February, 1894 (pp. 238–254).

Boston, May 1, 1896.

My dear Sir, — I hasten to avow, through you, to the Committee of Publication, my conviction that I was wrong in the opinion I expressed

at our meeting in February, 1894, as to the handwriting of the draught of the Constitution of the Society of the Cincinnati. I am not only satisfied that Washington did *not* write that paper, but that Samuel Shaw *did*.

As to the causes of that error, I can only say that the heliotype reproduction in our Publications shows the strong points of resemblance to Washington's handwriting, which led me to the unequivocal expression of opinion which I now retract, and to my denying the possibility of its having been written by either of the other persons named to me as the probable writer, — Knox, Heath, Cobb, Reed, and Lincoln, — abundant specimens of the handwriting of each of whom I critically examined.

Of Shaw's handwriting, unfortunately, the genuine specimens I had for comparison were signatures only; and but one of these bore the full Christian name, and none of them exhibited any of the marked peculiarities common to his hand and Washington's.

Now, however, the well-attested examples of Shaw's handwriting to which I have been referred in the Knox Papers settle the point beyond controversy.* I am indebted to you for direction to the particular pages which afford this evidence.

Though I regret that I had not been corrected in season to make the necessary changes in the printed report of my remarks, I should consent very unwillingly to deprive the public of the interesting *fac-simile* of an original document which, except for the sole circumstance that it was not written by Washington, is of the first importance as a contribution to the history of the formation of the patriotic Society of which he was the first President-General.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Goodell, Jr.

Mr. Henry Williams.

* See these papers in the possession of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, x. 29, 33, 34, 49, 62, 93, 135, 143, 148, 151, 160, 174; and xxv. 56, 71, 79, 81, 86, 93, 109, 128, 139, 144, 146, 148, 159, 176, 177.

The delay which has occurred in the issue of these pages has enabled the Committee to include this important communication.

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OFFICERS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

ELECTED 21 NOVEMBER, 1895.

President.

BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. JOHN LOWELL, LL.D. . . . . NEWTON.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, D.C.L. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Recording Secretary.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, A.B. . . . MANCHESTER.

Corresponding Secretary.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, A.M. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

HENRY HERBERT EDES, ESQ. . . . . BOSTON.

Registrar.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS, ESQ. . . . . BOSTON.

Executive Members of the Council.

HENRY PARKER QUINCY, M.D. . . . . DEDHAM.

FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL, A.B. . . . . BOSTON.

EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.

Resident Members,

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ENROLMENT.

Benjamin Apthorp Gould, LL.D.
1878 Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.
1858 *Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, A.M.
William Endicott, Jr., A.M.
Henry Herbert Edes, Esq. 1911
John Chester Inches, Esq.
*Daniel Denison Slade, M.D.
1889 James Bradley Thayer, LL.D.
Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M. 1898
William Watson, Ph.D.
Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B.
Gustavus Arthur Hilton, LL.B.
Henry Ernest Woods, Esq. 1908
Charles Sedgwick Rackemann, Esq.
1871 Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr., A.M.
George Wigglesworth, A.M.
Francis Cabot Lowell, A.B. 1896
Waldo Lincoln, A.B. 1903
Samuel Wells, A.B.
1886 William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L.
1867 Hon. George Silsbee Hale, A.M.
Joshua Montgomery Sears, A.B.
*Hon. John Forrester Andrew, LL.B.
Edward Wheelwright, A.M.
Samuel Johnson, Esq.
Henry Parker Quincy, M.D.
Edwin Munroe Bacon, A.M.
*William Gordon Weld, Esq.
Seth Carlo Chandler, LL.D.
Moses Williams, A.B.
James Mills Peirce, A.M.
Charles Montraville Green, M.D.
1894 Rt.-Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.
Theodore Frelinghuysen Dwight, Esq.
Henry Williams, A.B.

Philip Howes Sears, A.M.
1893 Hon. Francis Amasa Walker, LL.D.
Francis Vergnies Balch, LL.B.
George Lyman Kittredge, A.B. 1908
George Martin Lane, LL.D.
James Barr Ames, A.M.
Hon. Charles Warren Clifford, A.M.
Augustus Hemenway, A.B.
Gardiner Martin Lane, A.B.
Robert Noxon Toppan, A.M. 1899
*Edward Wigglesworth, M.D.
Nathaniel Paine, Esq. 1901
Frederick Lewis Gay, Esq. 1904
John Noble, LL.B. 1899
Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, A.M. 1901
*Hon. Frederick Lothrop Ames, A.B.
Hon. Darwin Erastus Ware, A.M.
Charles Augustus Chase, A.M.
Charles Francis Choate, A.M.
1892 *Francis Parkman, LL.D.
1894 *Hon. Martin Brimmer, A.B.
Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M. 1899
Hon. George Frederick Williams, A.B.
Walter Cabot Baylies, A.B.
Frank Brewster, A.M.
Samuel Williston, A.M.
Sigourney Butler, LL.B.
Stanley Cunningham, A.B.
*Hon. James Walker Austin, A.M.
Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D. 1897
Francis Henry Lincoln, A.M.
William Roscoe Thayer, A.M. 1904
William Cross Williamson, A.M.
Samuel Swett Green, A.M.
Rev. Endicott Peabody, LL.M.

Hon. William Eustis Russell, LL.D.
Franklin Carter, LL.D.
1884 Hon. Roger Wolcott, LL.B.
Hon. John Lathrop, A.M. 1905
Rev. Charles Carroll Everett, LL.D.
Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D. 1896
1880 Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, A.M.
1884 Hon. William Crowninshield Endicott, LL.D.
George Lincoln Goodale, LL.D.
Archibald Murray Howe, A.M.
Rev. Joseph Henry Allen, D.D.
Hon. Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B.
George Fox Tucker, LL.B.
1889 George Otis Shattuck, LL.B.
Edmund March Wheelwright, A.B.
William Taggard Piper, Ph.D.
Henry Dwight Sedgwick, A.B.
Robert Tillinghast Babson, LL.B.
George Nixon Black, Esq.

John Bartlett, A.M.
David Rice Whitney, A.M.
Rev. Arthur Lawrence, D.D.
Eliot Channing Clarke, A.B.
Charles Henry Davis, A.B.
Edward William Hooper, LL.B.
Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M. 1894
Hon. John Eliot Sanford, LL.D.
Nathaniel Cushing Nash, A.B.
Rev. Henry Ainsworth Parker, A.M.
John Elbridge Hudson, LL.B.
Lindsay Swift, A.B.
Charles Frank Mason, A.B.
Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Esq.
Richard Middlecott Saltonstall, A.B.
Albert Matthews, A.B.
Andrew Cunningham Wheelwright, A.M.
Charles Armstrong Snow, A.B.

Honorary Members.

Hon. Melville Weston Fuller, LL.D.
Hon. Edward John Phelps, LL.D.
Hon. Grover Cleveland.
Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, LL.D.

Of first hundred resident members of CSM:
14 belonged to MHS when elected
18 were subsequently elected to MHS
68 never belonged to MHS

WMW

14 x 1 49

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since the Organization of the Society, with the Date of Death.

Resident.

Hon. Frederick Lothrop Ames, A.B. . . .	13 September,	1893.
Francis Parkman, LL.D.	8 November,	1893.
Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, A.M.	15 April,	1895.
Hon. John Forrester Andrew, LL.B. . . .	30 May,	1895.
Hon. James Walker Austin, A.M.	15 October,	1895.
Hon. Martin Brimmer, A.B.	14 January,	1896.
Edward Wigglesworth, M.D.	23 January,	1896.
Daniel Denison Slade, M.D.	11 February,	1896.
William Gordon Weld, Esq.	16 April,	1896.

TRANSACTIONS

1892–1894

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE, 1892.

A CONFERENCE was held at the St. Botolph Club, No. 2 Newbury Street, Boston, on Saturday evening, 10 December, 1892, at 7.45 o'clock, in pursuance of the following call: —

Boston, Mass., 6 December, 1892.

Dear Sir, — You are cordially invited to attend a private Conference of the gentlemen named below at the St. Botolph Club, on Saturday evening, 10th instant, at 7.45 o'clock, to consider a proposal to form a Society to be composed exclusively of gentlemen whose ancestors were residents of the Colonies of Plymouth or the Massachusetts Bay.

It is hoped that you will make an effort to be present.

Very truly yours,

B. A. Gould.
John C. Inches.
Henry H. Edes.

The Hon. Leverett Saltonstall.

William Goodwin Russell.
Daniel Denison Slade.
James Bradley Thayer.
Moorfield Storey.
William Lawrence.
Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
Winslow Warren.
George Wigglesworth.
Phillips Brooks.
William Crowninshield Endicott.
Charles Russell Codman.
Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
Andrew McFarland Davis.
Henry Ernest Woods.
William Watson.
Francis Cabot Lowell.
Henry Winchester Cunningham.

There were present —

Benjamin Apthorp Gould.	John Chester Inches.
Andrew McFarland Davis.	George Wigglesworth.
Henry Herbert Edes.	Henry Ernest Woods.

Gustavus Arthur Hilton.

The Conference was called to order by Dr. Gould, who made a succinct statement of the purpose for which it had been convened.

Dr. Gould was elected Chairman, and Mr. Edes Secretary.

Mr. Edes read such correspondence as had passed between himself and some of the gentlemen invited to attend the meeting who were unable to be present.

A general discussion of the subject of forming a Society to commemorate the Founders of New England ensued, which was participated in by all the gentlemen present.

On motion of Mr. Edes, it was unanimously —

Voted, That it is expedient to organize a Society to commemorate the Founders of the Colonies of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay, and their deeds.

On motion of Mr. Inches, it was —

Voted, That Messrs. Davis, Gould, Woods, and Hilton be a Committee to prepare a Statement of the purposes of the proposed Society and the draft of a Code of By-Laws; and to report at a future meeting preparatory to incorporation under the general law.

The meeting was then adjourned to Saturday, 17th instant.

An Adjourned Meeting of the Conference was held at the St. Botolph Club, No. 2 Newbury Street, Boston, on Saturday evening, 17 December, 1892, at 7.45 o'clock, Dr. Gould in the chair. There were present —

Benjamin Apthorp Gould.	Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
Andrew McFarland Davis.	William Watson.
Henry Herbert Edes.	Henry Ernest Woods.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Secretary read such correspondence as had passed, since the last meeting, between himself and some of the gentlemen invited to attend the Conference who were prevented by other engagements from being present.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting made a report recommending that the proposed Society be named The Massachusetts Society, and that its purposes be such as are expressed in the words subsequently used in the Articles of Association, dated 19 December, 1892, and in the Certificate of Incorporation printed on page 12 of this book.

The report was accepted, and its recommendations were adopted.

The same Committee presented the draft of a Code of By-Laws, which was read by the Secretary, discussed and amended by the meeting, and unanimously approved.

On motion of Mr. Edes, it was —

Voted, That Dr. Gould and Messrs. Davis and Woods be a Committee to prepare a design for a Corporate Seal and submit it at the next meeting; and that a proper description of the Seal constitute Chapter I. of the By-Laws to be adopted at that time.

The meeting was then adjourned to Tuesday, 27th instant.

MEETING FOR ORGANIZATION, 1892.

PURSUANT to the Articles of Association and Notice thereon, a meeting of the signers[1] of the Articles was held in the office of G. Arthur Hilton, Esq., at No. 50 State Street, Boston, on Tuesday, 27 December, 1892, at quarter-past two o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose expressed in the notice.

Of the Signers the following named were present: —

BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.
WILLIAM WATSON.
HENRY HERBERT EDES.
JOHN CHESTER INCHES.
GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON.
CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN.
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

Dr. GOULD was called to the chair.

Mr. HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM was chosen Temporary Clerk.

The following Code of By-Laws was adopted by a unanimous vote: —

CHAPTER I.

THE CORPORATE SEAL.

ART. 1. — The Corporate Seal shall be: On an Escutcheon the arms of the COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY impaling the COLONY OF PLYMOUTH; above the dexter 1630 and the sinister 1620; surrounded by a circle bearing, THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY,[2] 1692, 1892.

ART. 2. — The Recording Secretary shall have the custody of the Seal.

[1] The names of all the signers appear in the Certificate of Incorporation, printed on page 12.

[2] See Amendment, adopted 15 February, 1893, printed on page 20.

CHAPTER II.

MEMBERS AND DUES.

ART. 1. — The number of Resident Members of the Society never shall exceed One Hundred. They shall be elected from among the citizens of Massachusetts, and shall cease to be members whenever they cease to be residents thereof. The number of Honorary Members never shall exceed Twenty. They shall be elected from among non-residents of Massachusetts, and shall cease to be members if at any time they become both citizens and permanent residents thereof. But no person shall be eligible to membership who cannot prove, by documentary evidence satisfactory to the Council, his lineal descent from an ancestor who was a resident of the Colonies of Plymouth or the Massachusetts Bay.

Resident Members only shall be eligible to office or be entitled to vote or to take part in the business of the Society.

ART. 2. — A book shall be kept by the Recording Secretary, in which any member may enter the name of any person whom he may regard as suitable to be nominated as a Resident or Honorary Member, — it being understood that each member is bound in honor not to make known abroad the name of any person proposed or nominated. But no nomination shall be made except by a report of the Council at a Stated Meeting of the Society. After the limit of the Resident Membership shall have been reached, no nomination shall be acted upon at the same meeting to which it is reported, nor shall more than one candidate for Honorary Membership be reported at any one meeting.

ART. 3. — Proposals of candidates and nominations shall be accompanied by a brief statement of the place of residence and qualifications of the person proposed or nominated.

ART. 4. — All members shall be elected by ballot at a Stated Meeting, the affirmative votes of three-fourths of all the members present being requisite to an election.

ART. 5. — Each Resident Member shall pay Ten Dollars at the time of his admission, and Ten Dollars each Twenty-first of November afterward, into the treasury for the general purposes of the Society; but any member shall be exempted from the annual

payment if, at any time after his admission, he shall pay into the treasury One Hundred Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and all commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

Art. 6. — If any person elected a Resident Member shall neglect, for one month after being notified of his election, to accept his membership in writing and to pay his admission fee, his election shall be void; and if any Resident Member shall neglect to pay his Annual Assessment for six months after it shall have become due, and his attention shall have been called to this article of the By-Laws, he shall cease to be a member; but it shall be competent for the Council to suspend the provisions of this Article for a reasonable time.

Art. 7. — Diplomas signed by the President and countersigned by the two Secretaries shall be issued to all the members.

Art. 8. — Any member may be expelled for cause, at any Stated Meeting of the Society, upon the unanimous recommendation of the members of the Council present at any meeting thereof.

CHAPTER III.

MEETINGS, QUORUM, AND AMENDMENTS.

Art. 1. — There shall be Stated Meetings of the Society on the Twenty-first day of November, and on the third Wednesdays of December, January, February, March, and April, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint; *provided*, however, that the Council shall have authority to postpone any, except the November, Stated Meeting, or to dispense with it altogether whenever, for any cause, they may deem it desirable or expedient. Special Meetings shall be called by either of the Secretaries at the request of the President; or, in case of his death, absence, or inability, of one of the Vice-Presidents, or of the Council.

The Stated Meeting in November shall be the Annual Meeting of the Corporation.

Art. 2. — Upon the request of the presiding officer, any motion or resolution, offered at any meeting, shall be submitted in writing.

Art. 3. — Five members shall constitute a quorum for all purposes except for amendment of the By-Laws, which shall be made

only on recommendation of the Council at a Stated Meeting (in the notification of which mention has been made of a purpose to amend the By-Laws) at which not less than Ten members are present, by an affirmative vote of three fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

CHAPTER IV.

OFFICERS.

ART. 1. — The officers of the Society shall be a President, who shall be Chairman of the Council; two Vice-Presidents; a Recording Secretary, who shall be Secretary of the Council; a Corresponding Secretary; a Treasurer; and a Registrar, — all of whom shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold their respective offices for one year, or until others are duly chosen and installed. At the first meeting three members shall be elected, who, with the officers previously named, shall constitute the Council of the Society. One of the said three members shall be elected to serve for the first year, one for two years, and one for three years; and thereafter one member shall be elected annually for the term of three years.

Each member of the Council shall have a vote.

ART. 2. — Elections to fill vacancies which may occur in the Council shall be for the unexpired term or terms; and such vacancies may be filled by it at its discretion.

ART. 3. — At the Stated Meeting in April, a Nominating Committee, consisting of three persons, shall be appointed by the presiding officer, and shall report to the Annual Meeting a list of members for the places to be filled.

ART. 4. — No officer of the Society shall receive any pecuniary compensation for his services.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESIDENT.

ART. 1. — The President shall be the chief executive officer of the Society; and, with the advice of the Council, shall superintend and conduct its prudential affairs.

Art. 2. — The President, and in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, shall preside in all meetings of the Society. In the absence of all of these officers, a President *pro tempore* shall be chosen.

Art. 3. — Unless otherwise ordered, all committees shall be appointed by the presiding officer.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

Art. 1. — The Recording Secretary, or in case of his death, absence, or inability, the Corresponding Secretary, shall warn all meetings of the Society and of the Council, in such manner as the Council shall direct.

Art. 2. — In the absence of the President and of the Vice-Presidents, he shall, if present, call the meeting to order, and preside until a President *pro tempore* is chosen.

Art. 3. — He shall attend all meetings of the Society and of the Council, and shall keep an exact record of the same, with the names of the members present, — entering in full all accepted reports of committees unless otherwise specially directed, or unless the same are to be included in the printed Proceedings.

Art. 4. — He shall enter the names of all members systematically in books kept for the purpose.

Art. 5. — All books and papers in his official custody shall be the property of the Society.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Art. 1. — The Corresponding Secretary shall inform all persons of their election as members; send to each a copy of the By-Laws, calling attention to Articles 5 and 6 of Chapter II.; and on their acceptance issue the proper diploma.

Art. 2. — He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society not otherwise provided for, and keep all original letters received and copies of all letters sent in regular files, which shall be the property of the Society.

ART. 3. — At every Stated Meeting he shall read such official communications as he may have received since the last Stated Meeting.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TREASURER.

ART. 1. — The Treasurer shall collect all moneys due to the Society, and shall keep, in books belonging to it, regular and faithful accounts of all the moneys and funds of the Society that may come into his hands, and of all receipts and expenditures connected with the same, which accounts shall be open always to the inspection of the Council; and at the Annual Meeting he shall make a written or printed report of all his doings for the year preceding, of the amount and condition of all the property of the Society intrusted to him, and the character of the investments.

ART. 2. — He shall invest and manage the funds of the Society with the consent and approval of the Council.

ART. 3. — He shall pay no moneys except on draft of the Council, or of its duly authorized committee.

ART. 4. — He shall give bonds to the satisfaction of the Council for the faithful performance of the duties of his office.

CHAPTER IX.

APPROPRIATIONS, AND TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

ART. 1. — No person or committee shall incur any debt or liability in the name of the Society, unless in accordance with a previous vote and appropriation therefor by the Society or the Council.

ART. 2. — At the Stated Meeting in April, an Auditing Committee, consisting of not less than two persons not members of the Council, shall be appointed by the presiding officer to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year preceding, and at the Annual Meeting to report thereon, and on the state of any property of the Society in his hands.

CHAPTER X.

THE REGISTRAR.

The Registrar shall have the custody of all documents filed by candidates in proof of their claims to eligibility to membership, and shall report to the Council upon the sufficiency of such claims.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COUNCIL.

Art. 1. — The Council shall determine its own quorum; establish rules and regulations for the transaction of its business, for the government of the Society, and for the admission of members; arrange for securing historical and other appropriate papers and communications; authorize all expenditures of money, drawing upon the Treasurer, from time to time, for such sums as may be required; provide all engraved or printed blanks and books of record; and see that the By-Laws are complied with.

Art. 2. — It shall appoint all necessary agents and subordinates (who shall hold their respective positions during the pleasure of the Council), prescribe their duties, and fix their compensation.

Art. 3. — It may appoint, for terms not exceeding one year, and prescribe the functions of, such committees of its number, or of the members of the Society, as it may deem expedient, to facilitate the administration of the Society's affairs.

Art. 4. — It shall report, at its discretion, nominations for Resident and Honorary Members, and act upon all resignations and forfeitures of membership.

Art. 5. — After the death of a Resident Member it shall report, through the President, to the next Stated Meeting of the Society, a nomination of a member to prepare a Memoir of the deceased.

Art. 6. — It shall report at every meeting of the Society such business as it may deem advisable to present. At the Annual Meeting it shall make an Annual Report which shall include a detailed statement of the doings of the Society during the preceding year.

The following Officers were unanimously elected by ballot: —

PRESIDENT.

BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

JOHN LOWELL.
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

TREASURER.

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

REGISTRAR.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

COUNCILLORS.

For the First Year . . . . . JOHN CHESTER INCHES.
For Two Years . . . . . JAMES BRADLEY THAYER.
For Three Years . . . . . DANIEL DENISON SLADE.

The Certificate of Organization required by law was executed on the Twenty-seventh day of December, 1892; and on the same day it was filed in the office of the Honorable the Commissioner of Corporations. The Certificate having been duly approved by the Commissioner, and by him filed in the office of the Honorable the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the Charter passed the Seals on the Twenty-ninth of December, and was immediately transmitted to the Corporation.

The following is the text of the Charter: —

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION.

No. 5230.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Be it known, That whereas BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD, JOHN LOWELL, LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR., HENRY HERBERT EDES, JOHN CHESTER INCHES, DANIEL DENISON SLADE, JAMES BRADLEY THAYER, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, WILLIAM WATSON, HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON, HENRY ERNEST WOODS, and CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN have associated themselves with the intention of forming a Corporation under the name of **The Massachusetts Society,** for the purpose of collecting and preserving mementoes of our Colonial Ancestors; propagating knowledge of their lives and deeds by the publication of ancient documents and records; cultivating an interest in the history of our Country, and more especially of the Colonies of Plymouth and The Massachusetts Bay; encouraging individual research into the part taken by our forefathers in the building of our Nation; promoting intelligent discussion of events in which the people of our Commonwealth have been concerned, in order that justice may be done to participants, and false claims silenced; and inspiring among our members a spirit of fellowship based upon a proper appreciation of our common ancestry, and have complied with the provisions of the Statutes of this Commonwealth in such case made and provided, as appears from the certificate of the President, Treasurer, and Council having the powers of Directors of said Corporation, duly approved by the Commissioner of Corporations, and recorded in this office:

Now, Therefore, I, WILLIAM M. OLIN, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Do Hereby Certify, that said BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD, JOHN LOWELL, LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR., HENRY HERBERT EDES, JOHN CHESTER INCHES, DANIEL DENISON SLADE, JAMES BRADLEY THAYER, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, WILLIAM WATSON, HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON, HENRY ERNEST WOODS, and CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN, their associates and successors, are legally organized and established as and are hereby made an existing Corporation under the name of **The Massachusetts Society,** with the powers, rights, and privileges, and subject to the limitations, duties, and restrictions, which by law appertain thereto.

Seal

Witness my official signature hereunto subscribed, and the Seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts hereunto affixed, this Twenty-ninth day of December, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Two.

WM. M. OLIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

JANUARY MEETING, 1893.

THE First Stated Meeting of the Society was held in Mr. Hilton's office on Wednesday, 18 January, 1893, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Benjamin Apthorp Gould, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the Meeting for Organization was read by the Recording Secretary, Mr. Henry Winchester Cunningham, and approved.

The following-named gentlemen were unanimously elected Resident Members [1]: —

John Forrester Andrew.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.
Francis Vergnies Balch.
Martin Brimmer.
Seth Carlo Chandler.
Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr.
William Watson Goodwin.
George Silsbee Hale.
Augustus Hemenway.
Samuel Johnson.
Waldo Lincoln.
Francis Cabot Lowell.
Francis Parkman.
James Mills Peirce.
Henry Parker Quincy.
Joshua Montgomery Sears.
Francis Amasa Walker.
William Gordon Weld.
Samuel Wells.
Edward Wheelwright.
George Wigglesworth.
Moses Williams.

The Recording Secretary reported that the Council, by a unanimous vote, recommended to the Society to petition the Commissioner of Corporations for authority to change its name to Society of Plymouth and The Bay.

[1] The Rt.-Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., was also elected at this meeting, but died on Monday, 23 January, 1893, before he received the official notification of his election; not, however, before his interest in the new Society and its purposes had been cordially expressed.

After some discussion, as the name was not satisfactory to all, it was unanimously —

Voted, That this Society hereby requests the Council to call a Special Meeting of the Society, under the law, for the purpose of considering the question of changing its name.

The Recording Secretary announced the first gift[1] to the Society, — a present from G. ARTHUR HILTON, Esquire. It comprised —

1. The Commission of General David Cobb as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Bristol, dated 7 June, 1784, and signed by Governor Hancock.
2. A letter of Robert Treat Paine to Doctor David Cobb, dated at Philadelphia, 17 June, 1775, telling of the appointment of George Washington as General of the American forces.
3. The original manuscript of the Hon. Francis Baylies's "Some Remarks on the Life and Character of General David Cobb, delivered at the Taunton Lyceum, July 2, 1830."

In his letter accompanying this gift Mr. Hilton announced his intention of presenting to the Society at an early day a copy of the Isaiah Thomas folio Bible published at Worcester in 1791, as he thought it eminently fitting that the first book to be given to this Society should be a copy of the Bible.

[1] General Cobb's commission and Mr. Paine's letter have been printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1891, xlv. 241–242. Mr. Baylies's address appeared in the same journal in January, 1864, xviii. 5–17, and in a separate form with the imprint "Albany: J. Munsell, 78 State Street, 1864." On the titlepage of the original is the following note by Mr. Baylies: —

"This Manuscript is presented to Mr. D. G. W. Cobb with liberty to correct and publish if he thinks proper. I was requested to furnish the printers in this Town, but fearing it might be considered too extravagant I thought it best to keep it awhile. I have looked it over and believe it will do. I wish Mr. Cobb to have one fair copy made and forwarded by mail to Gen. Wool at Washington."

The thanks of the Society were given to Mr. HILTON for his valuable and interesting gift.[1]

[1] This volume has since been received. It belonged to David George Washington Cobb, and contains his family record. The following is a copy of it: —

"David G. W. Cobb and Abby Crocker were married May 16, 1822.

"Samuel Crocker Cobb, born July 4, 1823, at half-past 6 o'clock, morning.

"George Thomas Cobb, born September 5, 1824 (Sunday).

"Samuel Crocker Cobb, died November 30, 1824; buried Decr. 2d, *Thanksgiving Day*, in the morning.

"Samuel Crocker Cobb, born May 22nd, 1826 (Monday).

"Elizabeth Baylies Cobb, born February 17, 1828 (Sunday).

"Sally Crocker Cobb, born October 29th, 1831, at 2 o'clock in the morning (Saturday)."

David George Washington Cobb, youngest son of General David and Eleanor (Bradish) Cobb, was born 14 January, 1790. His wife was a daughter of the Hon. Samuel Crocker, of Taunton. Their third son was the late Hon. Samuel Crocker Cobb, Mayor of Boston, 1874–1876, and President of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati from 1880 till his death, 18 February, 1891. See Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, Boston, 1890, pp. 136–144.

SPECIAL MEETING, 20 JANUARY, 1893.

THE Special Meeting called for the purpose of considering the question of changing the name of the Society was held in Mr. Hilton's office, on Friday, 20 January, 1893, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Dr. GOULD, in the chair.

After long discussion it was unanimously —

Voted, That the Registrar be a Committee to wait upon the Honorable the Commissioner of Corporations and ask him if the name THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS will infringe upon that of any existing Corporation, and to report to the Society at the adjourned meeting on the twenty-fifth instant.

THE ADJOURNED SPECIAL MEETING of the Society was held at Mr. Hilton's office, on Wednesday, 25 January, 1893, at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, the President in the chair.

The Registrar reported that he had conferred with the Commissioner of Corporations, and had been informed by that gentleman that he saw no objection to our use of the name THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS; whereupon Mr. EDES offered the following preamble and vote, which were adopted unanimously: —

Whereas, it has appeared that the name of this Society might create confusion by its resemblance to that of another Society, it is, therefore,

Voted, That the name of The Massachusetts Society be changed, and that it hereby adopt the name of THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1893.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 10½ Beacon Street, Boston, on Wednesday, 15 February, 1893, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the President in the chair.

On calling the meeting to order, Dr. GOULD spoke as follows: —

Our Society holds to-day what may properly be regarded as its inaugural meeting; for although its fourteen original corporators have necessarily convened for the purpose of fulfilling various duties required by law, and for the choice of a few members to take part in its fuller organization and equipment, this meeting is the first devoted to the especial purposes for which we have associated.

It seems strange that, amid the multitude of formal organizations existing in our community for the commemoration of great deeds, the furtherance of important principles, mutual aid and encouragement in the fulfilment of common desires, and joint action for promoting the interests of particular classes, there has hitherto been none distinctly and pre-eminently dedicated to the noble ends designated in our Charter.

The achievements of that later generation of our sires, which won for us independence and nationality, establishing not only more liberal institutions, but likewise a home for the outcast and a refuge for the oppressed of other lands, are now widely commemorated by a grateful Nation. But the memory of the ancestors who made those men what they were has largely failed to receive a similar pious service from those in whose veins their blood still flows.

According to the estimate of Mr. Savage, nineteen-twentieths of the population of New England in 1775 "were descendants of

those found here in 1692, and probably seven-eighths of them were offspring of the settlers before 1642." To form an estimate of the proportion to-day would be a task from which any one of us would shrink. And even though the descendants of Pilgrims and Puritans might proudly invite such an estimate if applied to the men whose example, attainments, and patriotism have hitherto shaped the sentiment, aroused the conscience, and represented the intellectual vigor of the community, still their total number is naturally limited; and the vast tide of humanity which now pours ceaselessly upon our shores threatens to overwhelm the progeny of those who established the harbors of refuge, and opened wide the welcoming floodgates.

Yet the men of Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay were they who founded the State, they whose influence and principles, gradually freed from such intolerance and superstition as belonged to their era in all countries, developed institutions and gave practical expression to ideas which were the germs of our own still freer institutions, and which, expanded by their descendants, have emancipated a hemisphere, and indeed have leavened the world. Such men cannot be forgotten, any more than can the valor of their children. And now that the great achievements of their progeny in the third and fourth generations are duly and almost universally commemorated, every sentiment of pious reverence and gratitude calls upon us to keep green the memory of the ancestors who reclaimed the wilderness, battled against the insidious savage, reared their families in the knowledge and the love of God, and instilled into them the principles whose fruits we know. They were a sturdy, valiant, God-fearing race. If sometimes intolerant, the fault sprang from an intensity of religious fervor and zeal; if superstition found foothold among them or their children, it was no more the case with them than with their contemporaries on the other side of the ocean; but their uprightness, self-sacrifice, and high aspirations were paralleled nowhere. Sprung mostly from honorable ancestry, bringing in their veins the best blood of the mother country, they became a race by themselves. "A more homogeneous stock," says Savage, "cannot be seen, I think, in any so extensive region, at any time, since that when the ark of Noah discharged its passengers on Mt. Ararat, except in the few centuries elapsing before the confusion of Babel.

What honorable ancestry the body of New England population may assert, has often been proclaimed in glowing language; but the words of William Stoughton, in his election sermon, 1668, express the sentiment with no less happiness than brevity: " "God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice Grain over into this Wilderness."

We are associated to render, so far as in us lies, our grateful homage to the memory of these our ancestors, to commemorate their good deeds, to investigate the influences and agencies which brought them here, to examine the true character of the actions for which they have been criticised or censured in later days; but, above all, to draw inspiration from their example and devotion at the same time that we hope to aid in perpetuating the remembrance of their virtues and lofty deeds.

There is abundant opportunity for activity, even though our field of action may appear comparatively small. If it were truly so, so much the more earnest should be the energy concentrated upon it. We do not encroach upon the special fields of other societies engaged with so much success in kindred work. Of such I know of but three active in our immediate community, — one now chiefly devoted to historical, one to antiquarian, and one to genealogical research. There is more than ample scope for all, and we desire to avoid any interference in matters within their special province. Of our great respect for them, and our hope to maintain with them the most cordial relations, we have already given proof, and not without sacrifice sufficient to attest the sincerity of this profession. We hope to receive their co-operation in the future, and not to be remiss ourselves in reciprocating it.

Four weeks ago to-day the first election of members was held, and a limited number were chosen, the official notifications, however, being withheld until definite action should have been taken toward changing the Society's corporate name. Within the next following week the first gap in that short list was made by the afflictive bereavement over which this whole community is yet mourning. Some other highly valued names have as yet failed of inscription upon our roll, by reason of severe illness; but we trust that this is only for a short time; and we have reason for satisfaction that so considerable a number of the names most frequently heard upon these shores, two centuries and a half ago, are already

enrolled to join in rendering due honor to those who then made them illustrious.

The limitation of the number of our members imposes on us the duty of selecting them with great deliberation. Should the names to be reported from the Council to-day meet with your approval, one half at least of the permitted number will have been reached. Let me express the earnest hope that the members of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts may always find reason for a just and laudable pride in their position and their Fellowship; and likewise my conviction that this hope will be fulfilled. Gentlemen, it is my privilege to bid you welcome, and to declare this meeting open for regular business.

The records of the January meeting and of the Special Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary made the report of the Council recommending a change in the By-Laws, and offered the following vote: —

Voted, That Chapter I., Article 1, of the By-Laws be amended by striking out the words "The Massachusetts Society," and substituting therefor the words "The Colonial Society of Massachusetts."

There were nineteen votes in the affirmative and none in the negative; and the amendment was adopted.

The following-named gentlemen were unanimously elected Resident Members: —

James Barr Ames.
Charles Warren Clifford.
Theodore Frelinghuysen Dwight.
William Crowninshield Endicott.
Charles Montraville Green.
George Lyman Kittredge.
Gardiner Martin Lane.
George Martin Lane.
William Lawrence.
Philip Howes Sears.
Henry Williams.

Professor James B. Thayer then made the first public announcement of the fact that the Corporation of Harvard College had recently voted to re-establish the Lady Mowlson Scholarship, founded in 1643, — the first scholarship at

Harvard, — by setting apart for that purpose the sum of five thousand dollars; and he further remarked that it was mainly through the exertions of a member of this Society, Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, that the mystery which so long shrouded the founder of this scholarship had been cleared, and the original documents disclosed.[1]

Mr. Davis then read the following paper[2]: —

HISTORICAL WORK IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Society which assembles here to-day to hold its inaugural meeting was incorporated 29 December, 1892, under the name of The Massachusetts Society. Shortly thereafter, information was conveyed to the incorporators that certain members of the Massachusetts Historical Society were of opinion that confusion might arise from the similarity of the names and the purposes of the two organizations. Steps were therefore promptly taken to change the name of this Society to The Colonial Society of Massachusetts. The purposes set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation are "collecting and preserving mementoes of our Colonial Ancestors; propagating knowledge of their lives and deeds by the publication of ancient documents and records; cultivating an interest in the history of our Country, and more especially of the Colonies of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay; encouraging individual research into the part taken by our forefathers in the building of our Nation; promoting intelligent discussion of events in which the people of our Commonwealth have been concerned, in order that justice may be done to participants and false claims silenced; and inspiring among our members a spirit of fellowship based upon a proper appreciation of our common ancestry."

Our seal illustrates the idea upon which claims for membership

[1] See Mr. Davis's communications to the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1887, and October, 1892, New Series, v. 129–139; viii. 274–280; and the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, for July, 1892, xlvi. 234–235; and January, 1893, xlvii. 113–115.

[2] Large extracts from Mr. Davis's paper were printed in successive issues of "The Commonwealth," newspaper, between 25 February and 13 May, 1893.

in the Society must be based. The dates represent, respectively, the foundation of Plymouth Colony; the establishment of a full form of government in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay under a Governor having the charter in his possession; the union of the Colonies under the provincial government, and the establishment, two hundred years after the last event, of a Society composed of members who, according to the terms of its By-Laws, must prove their lineal descent from ancestors who were residents of one or both of these Colonies.

The field of work which may be expected to prove attractive to members of the Society is suggested in the Certificate of Incorporation. A glance at its phraseology reveals at once the salient points, — colonial ancestry in colonial history, the deeds of our forefathers and the fellowship of their descendants. The question has been asked, Is there room for such a society, and is there work for it to do? The answer can best be made after an examination of what has been accomplished by societies engaged in work of this nature in Massachusetts, a glance at what is now being done, and a review of the methods now in use to promote and foster such work throughout the Commonwealth. As a preliminary to any such examination, it will be well to understand precisely what we propose to do. At first thought it might seem easy to define this purpose. The objects of this Society have already been pronounced to be similar to those of the Massachusetts Historical Society. If we are an historical society, then our researches may be confined to historical and antiquarian societies. But how shall we define such societies? We cannot limit our investigation to those which specifically include the words "historical" or "antiquarian" in their corporate title. Neither of these words appears in our own title. We cannot accept the language of charters as the test. If we should do so, we should exclude the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was incorporated simply to collect and preserve historical material, and we should lose the benefit of the example of the American Antiquarian Society, the alleged purpose of which was to collect antiquities and curiosities. Measured by the language of their charters, these Societies are mere collectors. It is evident, therefore, that we must settle upon some definition of the work which has been or is being performed, and by that test determine whether we shall include any given society in our list, irrespective of its name or the language of its charter.

It is obvious that the labor of applying such a test is greatly enlarged from what would be the case if we could rely simply upon the name of the Society. Moreover, the probability of arriving at accurate results is somewhat diminished. Nevertheless, I conceive that what we want to know practically is, What have those societies in Massachusetts accomplished which collect and publish historical material? We shall be compelled, in any event, to look up the work of all organizations which by title are either historical or antiquarian; but the demand that the work of all other societies shall include publishing as well as collecting will relieve us from the necessity of considering a large number of corporations like our athenæums and public libraries, which are engaged in collecting historical material, but which do not publish, and do not intend to publish, what they collect. Let me quote from the Certificate of Incorporation of the Barre Library Association a part of the purposes therein set forth, to show how nearly the functions of this Association correspond with our own. Certain of these purposes are, "providing and supporting courses of lectures on scientific, historical, literary, and other subjects; forming and maintaining a museum containing specimens in natural history, works of art, antiquities, and other objects of interest; and for the purpose of collecting the annals of said town and the genealogies of the inhabitants." If you will examine the first Report of the Free Library Commission of Massachusetts, prepared by Mr. C. B. Tillinghast, and published in 1891,[1] you will find that a large number of the librarians distinctly assert that they have made a point of making their libraries places for the deposit of material for local history. In Lancaster, under the influence of the Hon. Henry S. Nourse, "an earnest and persistent effort has been made to obtain every book, pamphlet, or manuscript known to contain noteworthy mention of Lancaster's settlement, growth, institutions, or people." It may be added that this particular effort has been crowned with conspicuous success, and, further, that the distribution of this Report among the librarians cannot fail to render them practically unanimous in the disposition to make similar efforts in their respective localities. Notwithstanding the fact that by the terms of my definition of an historical society I am precluded from considering the work of these libraries, I

[1] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Public Document No. 44.

consider that work of such importance that I cannot pass it by in silence. With the recommendation that you examine the Report to which I have referred, I pass to the consideration of the work of those societies which by title, by promise, and by performance may claim to be historical societies.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The oldest organization in this country for historical work is the Massachusetts Historical Society. In August, 1790, Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D., drafted a plan of an antiquarian society, in which the proposed purposes were set forth as follows: —

> Each member, on his admission, shall engage to use his utmost endeavors to collect and communicate to the Society manuscripts, printed books, and pamphlets, historical facts, biographical anecdotes, observations in natural history, specimens of natural and artificial curiosities, and any other matters which may elucidate the natural and political history of America from the earliest times to the present day.

The original of this paper is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and there can be no doubt that in this document we have a record of the first step taken toward the formation of that Society. The first regular meeting of the Historical Society of which the records are given in the Proceedings was held 24 January, 1791. This meeting was attended by eight gentlemen, of whom Dr. Belknap was one. But there is in a letter-book a record by Dr. Belknap of the names of five gentlemen, first associated in 1790, followed by the names of five other gentlemen, who were said to have been elected by the first five, each nominating one. This list was headed, "A Catalogue of the Members of the Historical Society, in the order in which they were elected;" and the names of the members subsequently elected were entered under this heading for some time thereafter.

At the first regular meeting a Constitution was adopted. The following extract from that paper will indicate the intention of the associates: —

> The preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations conduces to mark the genius, delineate the man-

ners, and trace the progress of society in the United States, and must always have a useful tendency to rescue the true history of this country from the ravages of time and the effects of ignorance and neglect.

A collection of observations and descriptions in natural history and topography, together with specimens of natural and artificial curiosities and a selection of every thing which can improve and promote the historical knowledge of our country, either in a physical or political view, has long been considered as a desideratum; and as such a plan can be best executed by a society whose sole and special care shall be confined to the above objects, we, the subscribers, do agree to form such an institution, and to associate for the above purposes.

Four Stated Meetings each year were provided for in the Constitution, and provision was made for holding Special Meetings. All communications which should be thought worthy of preservation were to be entered at large or minuted in the books of the Society; and the originals were to be kept on file. All accounts were to be kept in dollars and cents.

The Society, 1 November, 1791, sent out a circular letter soliciting subscriptions to a weekly paper, to be called "The American Apollo," — asking for detailed information concerning the settlement, history, and statistics of the towns in the Commonwealth, and announcing that contributions to the library or museum of the Society would be accepted with thanks. Enclosed with this circular letter was a prospectus of "The American Apollo," addressed "to all the Friends of Science, Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce." It stated that the paper would contain "the publications of the Historical Society, Political and Commercial Intelligence, and other entertaining matter." If a sufficient number of subscribers to defray the expense of publication should be returned by the twentieth of December, 1791, the publication was to begin on the first Friday of January, 1792. The subsequent history of this venture shows that the subscription list was not well enough patronized to provide for the permanent maintenance of the serial; but the promoters of the enterprise found sufficient encouragement in the situation to comply with their conditional promise, and on the sixth of January, 1792, they issued the first number of the "Apollo." Its titlepage showed that, in addition to the publications of the Historical Society, it contained "Essays, Moral, Political, and Poetical, and the daily occurrences in the

Natural, Civil, and Commercial World." Thirty-nine numbers were issued in this form, when the "Apollo" cut adrift from the Historical Society, and attempted an independent existence as a newspaper. Thereafter the publications of the Society were separately issued. The records show the deep interest which the members took in the matter, the various expedients which they proposed, and the devices to which they resorted to stimulate public interest in what they felt was a matter of public importance. Notwithstanding the prominence of the men who had the work in hand, the publication of the Collections for the years 1796 and 1797 was suspended for want of funds. Indeed, from that date down to the time when the Society was endowed with a publication fund, lack of means or other causes interfered from time to time with the regular issue of this series of volumes.

The Historical Society continued its work under the Constitution adopted at its first meeting, in 1791, until February, 1794, when it was incorporated under the name of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The purposes of the Society were briefly set forth in the Articles of Incorporation to be "the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States;" and such they nominally are to-day. The prominence given by the founders of the Society to the accumulation of a museum of curiosities brought from the public a miscellaneous assortment of gifts, some of which were evidently of doubtful value. Perhaps it was this which led to the passage of a vote in January, 1794, that "Dr. Belknap, Dr. Cutler, and Dr. Dexter be a committee to make additions to the circular letter, in which they will solicit donations for the cabinet, give directions for the necessary preservation of the several objects of natural history, and request further information on that subject." The fourth volume of the Collections was issued in 1795, and was prefaced with a circular letter "respectfully addressed to every gentleman of Science in the Continent and Islands of America." This letter was subdivided into sections, as follows: —

1. Articles on which the Society request information.
2. A list of the topics to be included in the collection of materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country.
3. Directions for preserving animals and parts of animals.
4. Dr. Cutler's method of preserving the skins of birds.

5. Mr. Peck's methods of preserving animals and their skins.

6. A method of preserving birds and other animals, from the Philosophical Transactions recommended by Dr. Lettsom in his "Traveller's Companion."

7. Method of collecting and preserving vegetables, by Dr. Lettsom.

8. Mr. Peck's method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves by means of smoke.

9. Method of preserving marine productions.

10. In collecting mineral and fossil substances, the following particulars are to be attended to.

When, in 1833, the Society removed to its present location a portion of the collections thus obtained were deposited in the cabinet of the Boston Society of Natural History. Subsequently the Peabody Institute of Archæology and Ethnology received nearly all the remaining articles adapted to the purpose of its museum.[1]

While the Society was still in its infancy, James Sullivan, its first President, pointed out a field of labor for its members, in which he himself was a pioneer, and where he evidently hoped that he should have followers among his associates. In the Dedication of his History of Land Titles in Massachusetts[2] he thus addresses his fellow-members: —

To the Members of the Historical Society.

Brethren, — Our Society was formed by the government, under an expectation that our exertions would collect and preserve the means for furnishing a complete history of our country. The history of our politics and wars is very interesting and important; the natural history of our country will not be neglected; but the history of the laws and jurisprudence of a nation boasting the blessings of a free and equal government cannot be of less consequence to the community, and even to the world. . . .

It is obvious that Dr. Sullivan thought that labor in historical jurisprudence, however important it might be, was not likely to prove attractive to his brother-members, nor can it be denied that his judgment has proved to be, in the main, well founded. Yet

[1] See Report of Committee, printed in the Society's Proceedings, vol. i. The historical sketch of the early days of the Society will repay careful examination.

[2] The History of Land Titles in Massachusetts. By James Sullivan, LL.D. Boston. 1801.

we cannot fail to recognize the beneficial effects produced by this and other similar societies when their efforts have been put forth in behalf of the publication by the Commonwealth of the Province Laws. We owe the Society a debt of thanks for the share it has taken in standing by the Editor of those volumes in the chronic warfare which has been waged against their publication.

A glance at the list of members of this Society from the date of its foundation to the present time will show that the majority of them have been men who have distinguished themselves in their separate walks of life, and have thus brought honor upon the Society to which they belonged. So manifest is this fact that one might hesitate to say whether the distinction of the Society might not better rest upon the reputation of its members than upon the work which it has done, were it not that he would be confronted by the prodigious extent and value of that work. Merely to enumerate the names of the distinguished men who have contributed to build up the fame of the Society would be a formidable undertaking; and every attempt at an analysis of the work represented by the twenty-seven volumes of Proceedings and fifty-five volumes of Collections, would far transcend the limits of the space at my command. In the sixth volume of the Second Series of the Proceedings, the Librarian has given a partial bibliography of the Society, which will indicate the task which lies before him who undertakes to tell what may be found in these volumes. The Proceedings contain papers submitted by members at the regular meetings, and discussions of topics raised by their consideration. These papers cover a broad range of subjects, and many of them contain researches of great importance to historical writers. Indeed, it may safely be asserted that no student engaged in the investigation of a topic connected directly or indirectly with the history of Massachusetts can afford to neglect these volumes. The subject would be rare and recondite which would not find light already thrown upon it by some of the papers published therein.

The key-note to the character of the original material which is to be found in the earlier volumes of the Collections is set by the "Articles on which the Society request information," contained in the circulars which they sent out. It was obvious that the Society wished to concentrate information concerning the early

settlements of the towns of the Commonwealth, their growth and prosperity, and the history of their churches, schools, and industries, in such form as to be accessible to the historian. Some of the information sought for was lodged in the memories of old men, and would be lost unless placed on record; nearly all would be of little value if it remained in this scattered form.

The appeal of the Society stirred up an interest in the minds of local antiquaries, and brought forth many communications covering the points concerning which information was asked. The public also responded to the request for the deposit of manuscripts, etc.; and the pages of the early volumes of the Collections bear testimony to the success of the circular. The value of the individual communications depends upon two variable factors, — the fitness of the writer for the work, and the materials which he had at command. A glance at these volumes will show that the character of contributions and the methods of editing have improved very much in later years. Only those who have intimate knowledge of the subjects of the papers can testify as to their respective value; but no person would attempt the history of any of the older Massachusetts towns without consulting the Collections. With regard to the manuscripts relating to general topics, which were selected for publication, we stand on safer ground. Their value is universally recognized, and contributes largely to the reputation of the Society. If no other publications had been issued by the Society than Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians, Hubbard's History of New England, The Body of Liberties, and Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, the members might still be satisfied with the record. The pride taken by those who aided in giving Bradford's History to the world is understood by all historical students. No doubt their predecessors felt a similar glow of pleasure when Hubbard's work was published, and the reading public of that day were equally appreciative and grateful.[1]

[1] Nearly every time that Savage refers to Hubbard in the notes to his edition of Winthrop's History of New England, he does so with a sneer; but Charles Deane, in his chapter on "New England" (Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii. p. 362), very justly says, "This was by far the most important history which had then been written." The publication of the works of Winthrop and Bradford materially lessened its value.

In addition to the publication of manuscripts, another way in which the Society could be useful quickly suggested itself. There were no public libraries at that time. Books relating to the early history of this continent were rare and relatively expensive. There was an evident opportunity to bring within reach of the reading public some of these rare works, by reprinting them in the Collections, and of this opportunity they at once availed themselves. It was not, however, until after they had published quite a number of these reprints that in a prefatory notice in the fifth volume (Second Series) a statement was made of the purpose of the Society in this direction, in the following words: "The Historical Society consider it to be one important object of their Institution to multiply copies of rare and valuable works relative to the country." This prefatory note introduced Hubbard's History, which was first offered to the public in volumes five and six of the Second Series of the Collections; and the note concludes with a statement to the effect that the History had never been published. It may be that, in speaking of multiplying copies of rare and valuable works, they referred solely to the publication of manuscripts; but it seems more likely that the reference was intended to include the work of reprinting rare volumes, in which they had already made great progress.

When they first embarked upon this enterprise, the mistake was made of attempting to select for publication portions only of the works which were to be reprinted. It was soon discovered, however, that what one person would choose to omit might be the very portion which another person would wish to print. It will be found, therefore, as a result of these different opinions, that parts of some of these reprints are given in separate volumes. The selection first given in the Collections not adequately meeting the wants of readers, the omitted portions were inserted in subsequent issues. Very little effort was made in the way of editing these early reprints, yet when we think of the place that they filled in the libraries of the early part of this century, we can realize how they must have been welcomed by the students of the day. A glance at the titles of some of them will show how great is the value of the Collections in this direction alone. We find here, — New England's First Fruits; Roger Williams's Key into the Language of America; Mourt's Relation; Good News from

New England; Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence; John Dunton's Journal; New England's Jonah Cast Up; Eliot's Indian Grammar begun; New England's Salamander; Capt. John Smith's Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters; Plain Dealing in Newes from New England; Josselyn's Two Voyages; Sir Ferdinando Gorges Briefe Narrative; Capt. John Smith's Description of New England; Gosnold's Letter and Archer's and Brereton's Account of Gosnold's Voyage; Rosier's True Relation of Waymouth's Voyage; Levett's Voyage to New England in 1623; Strachey's History of Travaile into Virginia; Ill Newes from New England.

It will be understood, of course, that I am not undertaking to give a bibliography of the Society. I have selected these titles to illustrate the value of the work done in two directions, — the publication from manuscript of historical works and the reprinting of rare books. The enumeration of these titles speaks volumes of praise for the work of the Society.

The later numbers of the Collections have been devoted to the publication of papers which have been placed in the custody of the Society. They include selections from the Hinckley, the Winthrop, the Mather, the Aspinwall, the Belknap, the Heath, the Warren, the Trumbull, and the Sewall papers and Sewall's Letter-Book. These publications are creditable in appearance, and have been admirably edited. The papers which have just been mentioned fill the last twenty volumes of the Collections; yet they constitute but a part of the treasures of this kind, in the possession of the Society, awaiting their turn for examination, selection, and publication. The archives of the Society have from the beginning been favorably regarded by those who had material of this sort which they wished to place in safe-keeping. For many years they furnished the only place in New England where such a deposit could properly be made; and since by their publications they have added to their reputation, it has remained a favorite place for such deposits, notwithstanding the existence of other societies engaged in similar work.

It is difficult to tell what one might not hope to find in searching these volumes of manuscript. A chance word here, a phrase used there, may unlock some mystery or tell some story to the watchful eye, which to the casual observer might have no special signifi-

cance. An illustration will perhaps better convey my meaning. The tradition of the Palatine Light, which is reported to have been seen off Block Island at irregular intervals for more than a century, has served Whittier and Higginson as a subject for verse, and has been used by Dr. Hale as the incentive for a story. The local antiquaries have never been able to settle with precision whether the name of the Light came from a ship that was wrecked on Block Island, or from the castaways themselves. Although tradition points steadily towards a shipwreck as the basis of the name, and the tendency is in favor of the derivation from the passengers rather than the ship, yet the date of the shipwreck is in obscurity. Now, it happened that in looking over the Colman papers, I found a reference to a contribution collected by Colman in behalf of some shipwrecked Palatines on Block Island. Unfortunately the draft of the letter was not dated, although it seemed probable that it was written between 1732 and 1740. If the letter had been dated, I should have felt certain that the mystery which had puzzled the Block Island historians could be removed.[1] The question at issue is not important; but there are many people interested in it, and it is but one of hundreds which the publication of these manuscripts will help to answer.

The statement is made in the "Notes on Special Collections in American Libraries," No. 45, Bibliographical Contributions, issued by the Library of Harvard University, that this collection is "probably the largest mass of *historical* MSS. possessed by any similar American society, going back to the earliest periods of American history." A calendar of them is in preparation.

At the second meeting of the Society the members handed in lists of books which they were willing to contribute towards the foundation of a library. Being thus early in the field, the Society have a good collection of Americana, which was greatly enriched by the copies in the Dowse Library. They have also many files of early newspapers. Special attention has been given of late to New England local history; and the library is rich in town and county histories. The subject of the recent war has been selected as a topic worthy of special illustration, and a collection of one thousand nine hundred volumes and four thousand eight hundred

[1] See Mr. Edes's communication to the March Meeting of this Society, pages 113-114. This corroborates my conjecture as to the date.

pamphlets treating of that subject has been secured.[1] The last published catalogue was printed in 1860. Later accessions are to be found in the manuscript catalogue. The Society have a cabinet of medals and relics and a collection of historical portraits.

The funds of the Society, through gifts and bequests, now in the possession of the Treasurer, amount to a little over one hundred and seventy-four thousand dollars. In this estimate the valuable real estate occupied in part by the Society is set down at the modest sum of one hundred and three thousand dollars. The fund in which non-members of the Society are most interested is the publication fund. The greater part of the income heretofore used by the Society to meet the expense of their publications has come from the munificent gift of George Peabody, whose name is associated with so many enterprises, designed to benefit his fellow-men. The Society stand in the Treasurer's books debtor to that fund to-day a little over twenty-two thousand dollars; and it is mainly through this liberal gift that the great work of publication in which they are now engaged, has been carried on.

The membership was limited in the Constitution to thirty. In the Charter it was enacted that the number of members should never be more than sixty, excepting Honorary Members residing without the limits of this Commonwealth. It has always been the custom of the Society to keep upon their roll of Honorary or Corresponding Members a goodly array of names of distinguished men from all parts of the world. In 1857, power was conferred upon the Society to increase its Resident Membership to one hundred, and to elect Corresponding and Honorary Members, no limit being fixed to their number. Stated meetings were originally held once a quarter. In 1833, the By-Laws were changed, since which time they have been held monthly.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

In 1812 another Society was organized whose purpose, so far as can be inferred from the petition for a Charter and from the language of the Charter itself, was to establish a museum and a depository for materials which would be of use to future historians. The movement for the incorporation of this Society took place in

[1] See Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University, No. 45, p. 8.

Worcester. The name selected was the "American Antiquarian Society." The subscribers to the petition stated that, "influenced by a desire to contribute to the advancement of the Arts and Sciences, and to aid, by their individual and united efforts, in collecting and preserving such materials as may be useful in marking their progress, not only in the United States, but in other parts of the globe, and wishing also to assist the researches of the future historians of our country," they would "respectfully represent to the Legislature that, in their opinion, the establishment of an Antiquarian Society within this Commonwealth would conduce essentially to the attainment of these objects."

The Charter which was granted in response to this petition set forth the purposes of the Society in the preamble as follows: "Whereas, the collection and preservation of the Antiquities of our country, and of curious and valuable productions in art and nature, have a tendency to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge, aid the progress of science, perpetuate the history of moral and political events, and to improve and interest posterity; Therefore, be it enacted," etc. It was provided in the Act of Incorporation that the library and museum of the Society should be kept in the town of Worcester. This location of the Society was natural, since the first movement towards its incorporation originated in Worcester; but the introduction into its Charter of the clause requiring the library and museum to be kept there probably arose from the views on the subject of Isaiah Thomas, who may be said to have been the founder of the Society. It was stated in the petition for a Charter that one of the subscribers was in possession of a valuable collection of books, obtained with great labor and expense, the value of which might be fairly estimated at about five thousand dollars, some of them more ancient than were to be found in any other part of our country, and all of which he proposed to transfer to the proposed Society. Isaiah Thomas is the person alluded to. His opinions, therefore, were regarded with deference. It is said that he not only feared the perils of conflagration to which such a collection would be exposed in Boston, but that he regarded the increased danger on the seaboard, from the ravages of a foreign enemy in time of war, as a sufficient reason for wishing the books and curiosities of the Society to be retained in an interior town.

In 1819, Mr. Thomas offered to build, at his own expense, a suitable edifice for the use of the Society. The offer was accepted, and the building erected in pursuance thereof was dedicated in 1820. An address to members, prepared in 1819, brings to our view an evident fear on the part of the Society that its organization under a State charter might obscure the national character of its work. In the same address we find a definition of the specific field of work to which the Society proposed to devote its energies. The language used is as follows: —

> This local authority [that is, the Legislature of Massachusetts] was resorted to from doubts having been expressed whether Congress had the power to grant a charter without the District of Columbia. Its members are selected from all parts of the Union. Its respectability is inferred from its numbers, and from its comprising men of the first standing and intelligence in the nation, and some of first distinction in other countries. The objects of this institution are commensurate with the lapse of time, and its benefits will be more and more accumulating in the progression of ages. As the antiquities of our country, by various means, are rapidly decreasing, an institution whose business will be to collect and preserve such as remain and can be obtained must be viewed as highly important. The chief objects of the inquiries and researches of this Society, which cannot too soon arrest its attention, will be American Antiquities, — natural, artificial, and literary.

The membership of the Society is limited to one hundred and forty persons, and has always been distributed throughout the Union. An examination of a recent list shows that twenty-one States and the District of Columbia were, at the date of its publication, represented in the Society by active or domestic members. The list of foreign members, though small, is made up exclusively of men of great distinction from all parts of the civilized world.

Stated meetings of the Society are held semi-annually in April and October. The Annual Meeting in October, at which officers are elected, is held in Worcester in Antiquarian Hall. The April meeting is held in Boston in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The building now occupied by the Society, known as Antiquarian Hall, was completed in 1853.

The bibliography of the Society was compiled by Nathaniel Paine, and was printed in 1876 in a pamphlet entitled "Account of

the American Antiquarian Society, with a List of its Publications. Prepared for the International Exhibition of 1876." Another list of the publications of the Society, prepared by the same author, was published by the Society in 1883. A bibliography brought down to a still later date is given in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1890. Seven volumes, entitled "Archæologia Americana, Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," were published 1820–85. Besides these, various scattered reports of meetings, addresses, and proceedings were published from time to time. Since 1849, the Proceedings have been regularly printed. They include Reports of the Council and of officers, and original papers read at the meetings.

The following selections from the publications in the "Archæologia Americana" will indicate the character of the contents of these volumes: Hennepin's Account of the Discovery of the River Mississippi, etc.; A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America, by Albert Gallatin, LL. D.; An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians of New England, by Daniel Gookin; Records of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, to the Embarkation of Winthrop and his Associates for New England, with an Introductory Chapter on the Origin of the Company, by Samuel F. Haven, A. M.; The Diaries of John Hull, Mint-Master and Treasurer of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, with a Memoir by Samuel Jennison, Esq.; Original Documents from the State Paper Office, London, and the British Museum, illustrating the History of Sir Walter Raleigh's First American Colony, and the Colony at Jamestown, with an Appendix containing a Memoir of Sir Ralph Lane, edited by Rev. Edward E. Hale; A Discourse of Virginia, by Edward Maria Wingfield, edited with Notes and an Introduction by Charles Deane, A. M.; New England's Rarities discovered by John Josselyn, Lieutenant, with an Introduction by Edward Tuckerman, A. M.; History of Printing in America, etc., by Isaiah Thomas, LL.D., being a second edition with the author's corrections and additions, and a Catalogue of American Publications previous to the Revolution of 1776; and Note-Book kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq., 1638–41.

The Proceedings contain a great number of papers covering

a variety of topics of historical and archæological importance. A few titles will indicate their character: Report of the Librarian, with a Historical Sketch of Efforts at Different Periods to delineate and decipher the Inscriptions on Dighton Rock; The Early Paper Currency of Massachusetts, by Nathaniel Paine; Remarks on Recent Archæological and Anthropological Discoveries, also on the History of European Discoveries and Settlement on the Shores of the New World, and Contributions to Geographical History from the British Records Commission and Mr. Major of the British Museum, etc., by Charles Deane; Pre-historic American Occupation and Civilization, by Samuel F. Haven, Esq.; The Likelihood of an Admixture of Japanese Blood on Our North West Coast, by Horace Davis, Esq.; Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England, etc., by J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D.

A brief description of the library and cabinet, with a list of the portraits, statues, and busts contained in the Society's hall, will be found in the pamphlet of Mr. Paine, to which reference has already been made. The same author has printed another account in the History of Worcester County.[1] The subject of the library

[1] THE WORCESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Worcester County Historical Society was incorporated 19 February, 1831, "for the purpose of collecting and preserving materials for civil and natural history." A circular was issued without date, a copy of which is preserved in the American Antiquarian Society, in which the title of the Society was given as The Worcester Historical Society, and the purpose of the organization is there stated to be "collecting and preserving materials for a complete and accurate history of the County of Worcester." The same title is given in Lincoln's History of Worcester, published in 1836, and the statement is therein made that the Society requires as evidence of qualification for membership the publication of some work or some practical exertion in aid of these objects. At that date, Hon. John Davis had been President from the date of the organization of the Society.

On the fourth of October, 1831, the Society celebrated the centennial anniversary of the incorporation of Worcester County, selecting as an event suitable for such a memorial service the first sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court in Worcester County. The date which was adopted was not precisely coincident, but was selected because it was the first day of the session of that tribunal in the year 1831. An address was then delivered by the President, which, with a particular account of the ceremonies, was deposited in the American Antiquarian Society's Collections.

Mr. Nathaniel Paine of Worcester has made search for the records of this Society without avail. He writes me that Mr. C. C. Baldwin, a former librarian

has also been topically treated, in the History of Worcester County, by Samuel S. Green, a member of the Society. The library has grown, from the little collection of books given by Isaiah Thomas, to about a hundred thousand volumes, consisting in part of pamphlets, which are estimated at ten to a volume. It has over five thousand volumes of newspapers on its shelves. Some of these are quite rare, and attract students of American history from all parts of the country. The manuscript collection is especially rich in material covering the period of the Revolution. A card-catalogue of the library is nearly completed.

THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.

The American Statistical Association was incorporated 5 February, 1841, for the purpose of "collecting, preserving, and diffusing statistical information." The publications of this Association are given in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1890. The following titles will show the historical character of some of the contributions: Memoirs of American Discoveries, Colonization, Commerce, and Fishery, from Newfoundland to Florida, both inclusive, down to 1630, by Joseph B. Felt, LL.D.; The History of Paper Money in the Province of Massachusetts before the Revolution, with an Account of the Land Bank and the Silver Bank, by E. H. Derby; Boston's Trade and Commerce for Forty Years, 1844–84, by Hamilton Andrews Hill, A.M. There are also two valuable statistical

of the Antiquarian Society, under date of 4 October, 1831, says in his diary that the Historical Society was greatly honored at the centennial celebration. Under date of 5 October, 1831, he says that he went to a meeting of the Society, and was chosen to make a report of all the proceedings at the celebration, which report, with a bottle of wine and other appropriate articles, he was to enclose in a tight and safe box, made for the purpose, and commit to the care of the Antiquarian Society. These were to remain in the hands of that Society unopened until the end of one hundred years, when it was intended that they should be brought forth and examined. Mr. Paine reports that the bottle, and presumably its contents, are still at the Antiquarian Hall, but the box has disappeared, together with the account of the proceedings at the celebration. To those of us who do not expect to be on hand when the cork is drawn in 1931, this is necessarily a source of regret, in which it is not improbable that those who shall be present at the ceremonial of opening the bottle will participate.

The Society is not known to have been in existence later than 1836 or 1837, and has not left any other traces of its existence than those I have mentioned.

papers, by Dr. Felt, one relating to statistics of towns in Massachusetts, and one to statistics of population in Massachusetts. There is also an Account of the Collections of the American Statistical Association, by Samuel A. Green, M.D., in the Collections, New Series, I., 328.

THE NEW-ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

The New-England Historic Genealogical Society was incorporated 18 March, 1845, "for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and occasionally publishing genealogical and historical matter relating to early New England families, and for the establishment and maintenance of a cabinet."

The Society has a house at 18 Somerset Street, Boston, in which are stored its cabinet and collection of manuscripts. The latter contains the well-known Knox manuscripts, the United States Census of Boston of 1790, and the Direct Tax of 1798.[1] A library, rich in town histories, English parish registers, family genealogies, and works for consultation, bearing upon the special topics which interest the members, is arranged upon shelves in a cheerful hall in the upper story of the house. This hall is decorated with the portraits belonging to the Society, some of which delineate the features of those who have held office in it, while others are curious and interesting specimens of portraiture during the Colonial and Provincial periods.

The Proceedings at the Annual Meetings of the Society have been separately published each year since 1865. The Reports of the Council and of the Committees of the Society are included in this publication. Previous to 1865, the Proceedings appeared only in the Register, though some of the annual addresses were separately printed. The New England Historical and Genealogical Register is published quarterly by the Society. Forty-six volumes of this serial (1846–92) have been issued. The articles are contributed and are published under the authors' names. The Society has no other method of reaching the public than through this serial, which is in charge of an Editor, and the Proceedings, which contain merely the President's Annual Address

[1] The Census of 1790, and the Direct Tax of 1798, so far as it relates to Boston, have been printed in the Twenty-second Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston.

and reports to the Annual Meeting. It has not been the custom of the Society to publish the papers read at its monthly meetings; nor is there any way through which members can communicate to the Society information upon topics in which they are interested, except through the pages of the Register.. There is one exception to this general statement. The Society has a Historiographer, who communicates to the monthly meetings memorial sketches of deceased members, which are subsequently printed in the Register. Four volumes of Memorial Biographies have also been published, and prior to the establishment of this custom there was one volume issued by the Society, in 1878, entitled "Memoirs of Several Deceased Members," etc. A volume entitled Rolls of Membership of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, 1844–91, was issued in 1892. It contains a list of the officers of the Society from its foundation, a carefully prepared list of members, and elaborate classified indexes of persons and places.

The articles in the Register vary greatly in quality, since the work of writers of such diverse grades of fitness must necessarily be widely different in value. Under its present editorial management, the serial is a credit to the Society, and the vast amount of information which the forty-six volumes contain, relative to families and local history, makes its possession indispensable to every library, public or private, which makes any pretence of furnishing materials for the study of the history of New England. The early volumes are furnished with indexes of surnames only. After a time indexes of places were added. The mass of material in the latest volumes is made easy of consultation by copious classified indexes of names, places, and subjects.[1]

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

The Essex Institute was formed by the union, in 1848, of the Essex Historical Society and the Essex County Natural History

[1] The Gregg Genealogy Company was incorporated 18 May, 1893, "to carry on a search for historical and genealogical facts connected with persons in America by names of Gregg, Gragg, Greig, and lines collateral thereto, and to print and publish the results of such search." Its headquarters are in Boston.

The Woodbury Genealogical Society was incorporated 23 June, 1893. Its headquarters are in Salem. Its purposes are "to collect and publish historical and genealogical information concerning the old planters, John and William Woodbury, their ancestors and descendants, and to perpetuate their memory by monuments or otherwise."

Society.[1] The Essex Historical Society was incorporated in 1821. The purpose of the Society as stated in the Act of Incorporation was to collect and preserve materials for the civil and natural history of the County of Essex.

In April, 1859, the first number of the first volume of the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute was issued. It is there stated that "the principal object that the founders of the Essex Historical Society had in view at the organization of said Society (which in 1848 was incorporated with the Essex County Natural History Society under the name of the Essex Institute) was the collection and preservation of all authentic memorials relating to the civil history of the County of Essex in the State of Massachusetts, and of the eminent men who have resided within its limits, from the first settlement, and thus to provide ample material for a correct history of this part of the Commonwealth." The Act of Incorporation of the Essex Institute was approved 11 February, 1848, and so far as the historical functions of the Corporation are concerned, it merely continues in force those of the Historical Society. Twenty-eight volumes of the Historical Collections were issued by the Institute in the years 1859 to 1893. Of the Bulletin of the Essex Institute, twenty-four volumes have been issued (1869–93). In the first number it is stated that "the Bulletin of the Essex Institute is intended to give the public such portions of communications made to the Essex Institute at its semi-monthly and other public meetings as are of popular interest. . . . Such papers as are somewhat dryly historical or rigidly scientific will be reserved for publication in another form." The Bulletin is mainly made up of scientific articles, but contains some historical or archæological papers. The Institute has also issued six volumes of another series of papers entitled Proceedings of the Essex Institute. In the first number of the Proceedings, after describing the formation of the Institute by the union of the Historical and Natural History Societies, the statement is made that there are three departments, — History, Natural History, and Horticulture, — and the object of each department is defined. That of the

[1] A full history of the Institute will be found in the "Visitor's Guide to Salem," Salem, 1892, pp. 59–71; and Essex Institute Historical Collections (1868–69) ix. Part 2, 3–40; and (1871–72) xi. 1–18.

Historical Department is said to be "the collection and preservation of whatever relates to the topography, antiquities, civil and ecclesiastical history, of Essex County, in Massachusetts." The collection of portraits, relics, and household articles illustrative of the home life of the early settlers, owned by the Institute, is very complete.[1]

THE BACKUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Backus Historical Society was organized 10 March, 1853. The object of this Society is to collect and to preserve, for publication or otherwise, materials illustrative of the history of Baptist churches and of the principles by which they are distinguished in all ages and countries, but more especially those which relate to the origin and progress of the Baptist churches of New England. The Society holds annually a literary meeting at Tremont Temple, Boston, and occasionally a semi-annual meeting. The books and papers of the Society are in the library of the Newton Theological Institution. In 1871 the Society reprinted Backus's History of New England, with particular reference to the Baptist Church; and occasionally it publishes papers.[2]

[1] The collection of memorials is thus alluded to by Dr. George E. Ellis in announcing to the Massachusetts Historical Society the death of Dr. Henry Wheatland: —

"He identified the principal work and interests of his long life mainly with institutions in Salem devoted to the preservation and illustration of the historical relics of that, the first of the permanent settlements in the Bay Colony. Those relics in objects and documents are rich and copious, covering, indeed, in a well-nigh complete and exhaustive collection long under his charge as the head of the Essex Institute, the antiquities and memorials accumulating for nearly three centuries.

"They begin with the reconstructed rafters and timbers of the first meeting-house of the settlement, in which Higginson, Hugh Peters, and Roger Williams preached, and Governor Winthrop exhorted and 'prophesied.' In no other ancient town in our country, not even in the Pilgrim Hall, at Plymouth, is there gathered so full and continuous a collection of articles identified with the life of the succeeding generations of the people. The household, domestic, culinary, mechanical, and agricultural implements of the elders are all represented.

"Their apparels and furniture, as well as their effigies, journals, letters, and books, present themselves in order."

[2] The Diocesan Convention of the Episcopal Church has a collection of materials relating principally to that church in Massachusetts. It was formerly kept at the Theological School in Cambridge, but is now at the Diocesan House, Joy Street, Boston. Rev. Edmund F. Slafter is Registrar, has charge of the collection, and makes an annual report to the Convention.

THE OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Old Colony Historical Society, Taunton, was incorporated 4 May, 1853, for the purpose "of preserving and perpetuating the history of the Old Colony in Massachusetts, and of collecting and holding documents, books, and memoirs relating to history." The Society has published four numbers of Collections in the years 1879, 1880, 1885, and 1889. It holds quarterly meetings, at which papers are read. Reports of the proceedings at these meetings are issued. It has a membership of five hundred persons, a building of its own, called Historical Hall, a library of two thousand volumes, and a collection of portraits and relics. The Society has a historiographer, who prepares memorial sketches of deceased members. These are incorporated in the selections.

THE DORCHESTER ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society was incorporated 3 May, 1855, "for the purpose of collecting such manuscripts, books, and natural and artificial curiosities, as may tend to illustrate and preserve the history of the United States, and of publishing such portions of these collections as may be deemed interesting and instructive to succeeding generations." The publications of the Society have been: 1844, Memoirs of Roger Clap, 1620, second edition; 1846, Annals of the Town of Dorchester, 1630–1753, James Blake; 1859, Journal, Life and Death of Richard Mather; 1859, History of the Town of Dorchester, by a committee of the Society. The membership of this Corporation has not been kept up; and it is possible that it may be permitted to expire through the death of its two surviving members. Its collections are in the keeping of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society. Among these is the silver seal of the Superior Court of Judicature.

THE DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Dedham Historical Society was incorporated 23 April, 1862, "for the purpose of collecting and preserving such books, newspapers, records, pamphlets, and transactions as may tend to illustrate and perpetuate the history of New England, and

especially of the town of Dedham." In 1886, it was authorized by special statute to erect a building. A lot of land and ten thousand dollars for a building were left to the Society by Miss Hannah Shuttleworth. A fire-proof building, simple in style but pleasing in appearance, was erected in 1886–87. The publications of the Society have been: 1883, A Plan of Dedham Village, 1636–1876, with descriptions of the grants of the lots to original owners, transcribed from the town records; 1887, Dedham, England, by Rev. William F. Cheney; 1888, Epitaphs in the old Burial-Place, Dedham, Mass., Carlos Slafter; 1889–90, Annual Reports; 1890–92, Dedham Historical Register, Vols. I., II., III. The Register is a quarterly magazine. A charming vignette of the library building illustrates the cover of the serial. Among the objects of the publication are the following: "To preserve in a permanent form all manuscript papers of an historical character, and to encourage a taste for local history." It contains accounts of the current proceedings of the Historical Society, its work, and information as to its library. Mr. Julius H. Tuttle says: "We have a flourishing society, our meetings are well attended, and the popular interest in the welfare of the Institution is remarkable." The library contains three thousand volumes. The Records of Town, Church, and Parish are deposited in the fire-proof vaults of the Society for safe-keeping. The celebrations on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversaries of the settlement of the town and of the founding of the church are to be attributed largely to the prompting of the officers of this Society. [1]

THE OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF LOWELL.

The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell was organized 19 December, 1868. The objects of the Association as set forth in the Constitution are to collect, arrange, preserve, and perhaps from time to time publish any facts relating to the City of Lowell, as also to gather and keep all printed or written documents, as well as traditional evidence of every description,

[1] In the winter of 1863–64, Mr. John B. Willard delivered two lectures on historical subjects at Harvard. Through his exertions an historical society was organized. It has not, however, accomplished any work, and the fact that it ever existed is known to but few of the citizens of the town of Harvard.

relating to the city. It holds quarterly meetings at which papers on local history or biography are presented. These contributions are annually printed in pamphlet form, the contributions of each four years making one volume. Four such volumes contain all the papers read before the Association to October, 1892. The Association has a library.[1]

THE POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

The Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, was incorporated 9 May, 1870, for "the purpose of collecting and preserving such memorials, books, records, papers, and curiosities as may tend to illustrate and perpetuate the history of the aborigines and of the early settlers of that region." The publications of the Society are: History of what befell Stephen Williams in Captivity, with appendix and notes by the Editor, 1889; Proceedings, 1870–79, Vol. I., 1890; Vol. II. is now in the hands of an editor. The Society has an extensive museum, illustrative of the style of life in New England in early times, and a library of ten thousand volumes.

THE CANTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Canton Historical Society was founded in 1871. Its Constitution states that it has for its object "the collecting and preservation of everything relating to the History, Topography, and Family Genealogy of our town." It has issued no publications. It holds an Annual Meeting at which provision is made for a Fast-Day walk. This walk usually covers six or eight miles within the town, and affords an opportunity to point out objects and sites of local historical interest. Preliminary steps have been taken to incorporate the Society.[2]

[1] The title, "The Old Residents' Historical Society, Lowell," is improperly included in the list of Historical Societies of the United States issued by the American Historical Association.

[2] This Society was incorporated 29 May, 1893. Its purposes, as described in the Certificate of Incorporation, are "to collect and preserve everything relating to the history, topography, and family genealogy of the town of Canton, Mass."

THE HISTORICAL, NATURAL HISTORY, AND LIBRARY SOCIETY OF SOUTH NATICK.

The Historical, Natural History, and Library Society of South Natick was incorporated 26 April, 1874. It occupies a hall in the basement of the Bacon Free Library building, and has a fine collection. Its library, numbering one thousand volumes, is included in the Bacon Collection. The purposes were defined in the Certificate of Incorporation to be "to establish and maintain a public library and reading-room and courses of lectures, and to collect and preserve specimens in natural history, works of art, and historical relics and antiquities in connection therewith." In 1884, the Society issued "A Review of the First Fourteen Years of the Society, with the Field-day Proceedings of 1881–83." Twenty-seven papers on local topics are printed therein.[1]

THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.

The Worcester Society of Antiquity was organized 23 January, 1875, and incorporated 22 March, 1877. Its object as stated in its Constitution was "to foster in its members a love and admiration for antiquarian research and archæological science, and to rescue from oblivion such historical matter as would otherwise be lost." In the Certificate of Incorporation the purposes of the Society are stated in substantially the same language, and to the foregoing are added the collection and preservation of antiquarian relics of every description. The Society has always been remarkably active and successful, and to-day occupies a building of its own, in which is a fine hall called Salisbury Hall, after the President of the American Antiquarian Society, who gave the land on which the building stands, and contributed liberally towards the construction of the edifice. On the occasion of the opening of this hall, Mr. Salisbury said: "This Society started without endowment, nucleus, or properties which would serve as

[1] The National Historical and Library Society, South Natick, is the title of a Society given in the Magazine of American History, July, 1890, page 424. The Historical Society, South Natick, is the title of a Society, and the Natural History and Library Society, South Natick, is the title of another Society, included in the list of Historical Societies issued by the American Historical Association. I have not been able to learn anything about these organizations.

an inducement for wider exertion. Its possessions are almost entirely the result of the unaided devotion of its members to the purposes and objects of their organization. How stable and satisfactory has been each step of progress under such conditions is demonstrated by the rapid growth and development of the Association."

An excellent résumé of the publications of the Society is given in the Worcester "Commercial and Board of Trade Bulletin" for January, 1893. The "Inscriptions from the Old Burial Grounds of Worcester" was issued in 1878. An addendum was published in 1879, with notes and the death record to 1825. The first two volumes of the Early Records of Worcester were put in print in 1879–80. The Proprietors' Book, with nearly three hundred maps and plans, was issued in 1880–81. This was followed by the publication of the Town Records, 1753–83. The first volume of the Records of the County Court of General Sessions, 1731–37, was published in 1883. After an interval of six years, the printing of the Town Records was resumed under an arrangement by which the city pays half of the expense. Two volumes of this second series have been completed, and the third and fourth are now in press. The Proceedings have been issued yearly since 1877. They contain papers on historical, genealogical, and other subjects. The general name of Collections is given to the whole series, of which ten volumes are now complete.

The library of the Society contains about fifteen thousand volumes. The museum contains many articles of interest. In a "Preface to Collections," the following language is used: "It may safely be said that no other society in Massachusetts has been able to accomplish so much in so short a time." The statement was unquestionably true when made, and there can be little doubt that it remains true to-day. The preservation of the Town, Proprietors', and Court Records is a work for which those interested in local history must ever be grateful to the Society. Monthly meetings are held, at which papers on historical topics are submitted.

THE MILITARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Military Historical Society of Massachusetts was formed in January, 1876. It was incorporated 24 February, 1891, "for the

purpose of the prosecution of studies connected with the military history of our own and other countries, the establishment of a reading-room and library devoted to such topics, and the maintenance of social meetings for the discussion of the same." In 1881, the Society issued Volume I., "The Peninsular Campaign of General McClellan in 1862,"—Papers read before the Society. In the preface to this volume it is stated that the chief object of this Society is the investigation of questions relating to the War of the Rebellion. Papers (or reports) are prepared by committees appointed to investigate given questions, and are read before the Society, after which they may become the subject of discussion and of criticism. A list of papers, which have been read before the Society, is given, and the places where some of them have been published are indicated. The Society hopes to publish soon a series of papers on the Campaign of General Pope in Virginia in 1862.[1]

[1] The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati was incorporated in 1806. The publications of the Society have been: 1872, — List of Members of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, etc., with brief biographies, etc., by Francis S. Drake; 1873, — Memorials of the Society of Cincinnati of Massachusetts, by Francis S. Drake; 1883, — The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati: An Historical Address delivered on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration, by Samuel C. Cobb; 1890, — Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, 1890. This Society is in its nature a relief society, but its biographical publications are historical in character.

The Commandery of the State of Massachusetts Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States was incorporated 15 March, 1887, "to establish and maintain a library, reading-room, and museum, especially for the collection of books, pictures, and such other articles as may in any way illustrate the war for the suppression of the Rebellion against the United States, 1861–1865." The commanderies of this Order in the several States where it is organized have published several volumes of war papers. The Massachusetts Commandery holds monthly meetings, at which papers are read treating of events or topics connected with the war. The library contains about two thousand volumes and five hundred pamphlets, beside scrap-books, maps, and photographs. See No. 45, Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University.

The Roxbury Military Historical Society has issued in pamphlet form a Constitution and List of Members. The objects for which the Society shall be maintained are stated in the Constitution to be: *First*, to perpetuate the history of Roxbury and of its military citizens and organizations, past or present; *Second*, to encourage the volunteer militia; *Third*, to advocate measures and principles that will tend to strengthen the patriotism of the community; *Fourth*,

THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Connecticut Valley Historical Society, Springfield, was incorporated 9 May, 1876, "for the purpose of collecting and preserving such papers, books, records, and memorials as relate to the settlement of the Connecticut Valley." The Society has published one volume, entitled "Papers and Proceedings of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, 1876–1881," containing seventeen papers and a poem.

THE UNIVERSALIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Universalist Historical Society was incorporated 1 January, 1877. It has its headquarters at Tufts College, where its library is deposited. "Its purposes are to collect and preserve books, periodicals, pamphlets, and whatever relates to the history of the doctrine of universal salvation, and also whatever on the other

to foster social and fraternal intercourse between its members. The date of organization is not given in this pamphlet. The Constitution provides for an annual dinner, of which the Society has had two.

The Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was incorporated 9 October, 1891, for the purpose "of perpetuating the memory of the men who achieved American Independence, and furthering the proper celebration of the anniversaries of the birthday of Washington, and of prominent events connected with the War of the Revolution, collecting and securing for preservation the rolls and other documents relating to that period, inspiring the members of the Society with the patriotic spirit of their forefathers, and promoting the feeling of friendship among them." The Society has issued a Register of Members (1893) which is full of interesting historical matter. It seeks to preserve a knowledge of historical sites by the erection of suitable tablets.

An organization to be known as the Naval Legion of the United States was recently instituted by naval officers and veterans, at the First Triennial Congress of the General Commandery of the Naval Legion, held in Faneuil Hall. "The purpose of the Association shall be to perpetuate the names, memories, and victories of naval veterans, to encourage research in the realm of naval art and science, and to establish a library, in which to preserve documents, rolls, books, portraits, and relics pertaining to naval heroes." The eligible list for membership includes those in actual service in the navy and marine corps and other branches of that service, and honorably retired members. A new Constitution was adopted, and officers chosen to serve until the fifth of October, which date is identical with the anniversary of the commission of the first ship in the United States Navy.

side belongs to the controversy on that subject." It has not issued any publications. Its library contains about four thousand volumes and two thousand pamphlets.[1]

THE BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.

The Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society was organized in 1877. The objects of the Society are said to be, "the collection and preservation of facts, documents, and traditions, relating to the history of the County of Berkshire, and of the towns therein, and the acts and lives of its citizens; the collection of portraits, pictures, books, relics, charts, maps, antiquities, and curiosities, in connection therewith; the discussion of all matters pertaining to the same, and the publication of papers and documents relating thereto." The stated meetings of the Society are an Annual Meeting and three Quarterly Meetings which are held in the building of the Berkshire Athenæum. Field meetings may be held at any time. The Society has published four papers to which it gives the title, "Book of Berkshire by its Historical and Scientific Society." I. (1886) Berkshire Geology, by Prof. James D. Dana of Yale College; The Western Boundary of Massachusetts, a Study of Indian and Colonial History, by Franklin Leonard Pope, Judicial History of Berkshire, by Henry W. Taft; The Early Roads and Settlements of Berkshire West of Stockbridge and Sheffield, by H. F. Keith. II. (1889) The Early Botany of Berkshire, by Rev. A. B. Whipple of Pittsfield; Prof. Albert Hopkins, by President John Bascom; Sketches of the Early Ministers of Windsor, by Prof. John L. T. Phillips; Early Settlements in Cheshire, by Hon. J. M. Barker. III. (1890) Medicine in Berkshire, by Dr. A. M. Smith, Williamstown; The Protestant Episcopal Church in Berkshire, by Rev. Joseph Hooper, Lebanon Springs, N. Y.; A Sketch of the Samuel Phillips

[1] See No. 45 Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University.

The Buchanan Anthropological Society was incorporated 27 January, 1890. Its purposes are "to spread the Science of Systematic Anthropology as discovered by Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan in 1841, and as promulgated by him since that time, by the publication and circulation of such books as may be prepared by Dr. Buchanan in explanation of his philosophy and its bearing on the life of man." The title of this organization suggests the probability of an historical society. Its alleged purposes limit its work to the publication of Dr. Buchanan's books.

Family, by Levi Beebe of Great Barrington; The Indian Mission in Stockbridge, by E. W. B. Canning. IV. (1891) Berkshire at Bennington, by Arthur Latham Perry of Williams College; Recollections of Elder Leland, by Mrs. F. J. Petitcler; The History, Methods, and Purposes of the Berkshire Athenæum, by Harlan H. Ballard; Air Currents, by Levi Beebe; Col. John Brown, by E. W. B. Canning. Members of the Society pay an initiation fee of one dollar; but there are no dues or assessments.[1]

THE RUMFORD HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The Rumford Historical Association, Woburn, was incorporated 28 April, 1877; its purposes are, "to take and hold a certain lot of land with the buildings thereon situated at Woburn, Mass., and being known as the birth-place of Benjamin Thompson, or better known as Count Rumford, as a place of historical interest, and for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a museum, library, and reading-room, and advancing the useful arts and sciences by lectures or otherwise." Publications: 1881, Constitution, list of officers, and members. A new manual was printed in 1892, in which a sketch of the history of the Association is brought down to the spring of 1892, and shows that the library and collections are constantly increasing.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OLD NEWBURY.

The Historical Society of Old Newbury was originally organized in 1877, under the title "The Antiquarian and Historical Society of Old Newbury." The present name was adopted in 1882. The Society has a home in the Public Library of Newburyport, in what was formerly the Tracy Mansion, where Lafayette was received. It has a valuable collection of books, portraits, etc., which is constantly increasing. The only publication by the

[1] In a list of Historical Societies in the Magazine of American History, July, 1889, p. 115, the following title is given, "The Berkshire County Historical and Scientific Society;" again, "The Berkshire County Historical Society" is given in a list, October, 1884, p. 380, and August, 1885, p. 217. The latter title is also included in the list of Historical Societies of the United States published by the American Historical Association. Mr. H. H. Ballard, Secretary of the Society described in the text, writes me that he knows of no other similar society in the County.

Society is an account of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Newbury, 10 June, 1885. The Society is not incorporated. It holds annual meetings at which papers are read. Some of these have been published in the Newburyport "Herald."[1]

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

The Archæological Institute of America was organized in 1879. The Regulations adopted 17 May, 1879, state that it was formed for the purpose of promoting and directing archæological investigations and researches, by the sending out of expeditions for special investigations, by aiding the efforts of independent explorers, by publication of reports of the results of the expeditions which the Institute may undertake or promote, and by any other means which may from time to time appear desirable. Prominent features of the work have been classical archæology and the support of the School at Athens. It has, however, simultaneously prosecuted explorations in this country; and American Archæology is represented in the publications by five volumes written by the distinguished archæological student, A. F. Bandelier. Our associate, Prof. William W. Goodwin, is now (1893) President of the Boston branch of the Institute, the parent Society having moved to New York.

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Weymouth Historical Society was organized in 1879, and was incorporated 19 July, 1886, "to make antiquarian collections; to collect, preserve, and disseminate the local history of Weymouth and the genealogy of Weymouth families." The publications of the Society have been: 1881, Original Journal of Gen. Solomon Lovell during the Penobscot Expedition, with a Sketch of his Life, by G. Nash; 1885, Historical Sketch of the Town of Weymouth, Massachusetts, from 1622 to 1684, by Gilbert Nash, being 1 and 2 of Weymouth Historical Publications, with Proceedings. The Society has a small collection of books and pamphlets. Its By-Laws provide for monthly meetings, which are held in the Tufts Library Building.

[1] The Antiquarian and Historical Society, Newburyport, is the title of a Society improperly included in the list of Historical Societies of the United States issued by the American Historical Association. The attempt was probably made to define by its original title the Society described in the text.

THE NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The New England Methodist Historical Society was founded 3 May, 1880, and incorporated 13 April, 1882. The purposes of the Society are "to found and perpetuate a library of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, and a collection of portraits and relics of the past; to maintain a reading-room; to preserve whatever shall illustrate the history and promote the interest of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The Society has a library of over four thousand volumes and sixteen thousand pamphlets at its rooms, 36 Bromfield Street, Boston, of which the statement is made that it is the largest collection of Methodist historical material in this country. The Historiographer prepares and deposits with the Society biographical sketches of deceased members. The Proceedings at the Annual Meetings are published yearly; and these publications contain lists of the works in the library on Methodist church history.[1]

THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.

The Bostonian Society was incorporated 2 December, 1881, "to promote the study of the history of Boston and the preservation

[1] See No. 45, Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University.

Three numbers of Transactions were issued (1859–61) by a Society called the New England Methodist Historical Society: No. 1. Introduction of Methodism into Boston, 1859; No. 2. History of North Russell Street Methodist Episcopal Church, 1861; No. 3. Half-Century of the Methodist Church, 1861. It appears from the first Annual Report of the present Society, issued 17 January, 1881, that "a Methodist Historical Society was instituted in Boston in 1859, which existed a few years. During the exciting scenes of the late Rebellion it fell into decay. . . . Nine years ago the coming spring (1872) the Historical Society of the New England Conference was organized. Annual sessions were held during the Conference week, of much interest and profit to the cause. Monthly meetings were also held for some years. At the last session of the Conference it was discontinued to make room for this organization, designed to unite the Methodists of the New England States for this common purpose." The purposes of the new organization were set forth in detail by Dr. Dorchester, and are to be found in this Report.

The New England Methodist Historical Society, Malden, is included in the list of Historical Societies of the United States published by the American Historical Association. There is at present but one Society in Massachusetts of the above title, and its office is at 36 Bromfield Street, Boston.

of its antiquities." A society known as the Boston Antiquarian Club was the outcome of a circular issued by William H. Whitmore, 24 May, 1879. The first meeting of this club was held 13 June, 1879. Papers were read before it, some of which were separately published.[1] A committee was appointed to procure the incorporation of the organization, 8 November, 1881; and the name selected was The Bostonian Society. The rooms of the Society were at No. 16 Pemberton Square, until the second floor of the Old State House was allotted to it. The Society established itself in these appropriate quarters, 1 July, 1882. The vast collection of interesting memorials which has been accumulated during the existence of the Society bears witness to the public approval of its purpose. The number of members was originally limited to one thousand, but the limit has apparently been abandoned. The Proceedings of the Annual Meetings have been published, 1883–92, in attractive form. The Proceedings at a meeting held 24 July, 1887, in memory of General Samuel Miller Quincy, and of a monthly meeting held 12 January, 1888, have also been printed.[2]

THE CAPE COD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Cape Cod Historical Society was organized 5 August, 1882, and incorporated 9 June, 1883, "for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and publishing historical matter relating to the County of Barnstable and vicinity, and for the maintenance of a cabinet and library." The headquarters of the Society are at Yarmouth. At its Annual Meetings original papers are read and discussions of historical subjects are conducted. When practicable, a summer meeting is held, or an excursion provided to some spot of historical interest. The papers read before the Society have never been

[1] The following papers read at meetings have been published: 1880, Reply to Francis Brinley on the claims of John P. Bigelow as Founder of the Boston Public Library, read 11 May, 1880, by Timothy Bigelow; 1885, William Cooper, Town Clerk of Boston, read 12 April, 1881, by Frederick Tuckerman.

[2] The Huguenot Memorial Society of Oxford was incorporated 4 October, 1881, "to perpetuate by all appropriate means the memory of the early Huguenot settlement of Oxford." The chief aim of this Society was the purchase of the old fort and the erection of a monument on that site. The object having been accomplished, the Society is no longer active, although the organization is maintained.

collected in a volume, but they have been published in newspapers, and have in some cases been used by their authors in other publications.[1]

THE WINCHESTER HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Winchester Historical and Genealogical Society was organized 20 November, 1884, by the adoption of a Prospectus, Constitution, and By-Laws. The Prospectus sets forth that "the subscribers, appreciating the objects and methods of the Associations now so numerous and efficient, formed to preserve, in permanent forms, the historical and genealogical facts pertaining to the towns in which they exist, propose to organize themselves into such an organization in Winchester." The objects of the Society as stated in the Constitution are "to collect, preserve, and supply to inquirers the facts of the local history of Winchester, and such family genealogies as may be offered to its archives; and to prepare or cause to be prepared, from time to time, such papers relating to these subjects as may be of interest to our citizens." The collection of material made by the Society relating to the town will become a part of the Town Library. The Society has issued a series of papers called "The Winchester Record," consisting of Proceedings and papers read at meetings of the Society. Vol. I., covering the year 1885, contained four numbers; Vol. II., covering 1886, three numbers; while of Vol. III., No. 1 only is printed. The Society maintains its organization, but the members are conscious that the field of labor must be enlarged if the activity which followed the organization is to be maintained in the future.

[1] The Webster Historical Society was incorporated 7 March, 1884. Its purposes were to collect and publish original and other interesting matter illustrating the high character and services of Daniel Webster and other distinguished statesmen; to keep before the public, through libraries, publications, meetings, or otherwise, such matter as may serve as proper texts for political reform and improvement; to educate young men in the importance of a patriotic service to the true interests of their country; to purchase and mark with suitable monuments places of interest associated with Mr. Webster's life. The Proceedings at Marshfield, 12 October, 1882, were published by the Society in 1883. The books, pictures, and collections of the Society were sold at auction a few years since, and the proceeds applied to pay debts.

THE REHOBOTH ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

The Rehoboth Antiquarian Society was incorporated 1 April, 1885, "for the purpose of collecting, receiving, and preserving ancient manuscripts, books, natural and artificial curiosities, and for the erection and maintenance of a building in the town of Rehoboth to be called the Goff Memorial Building, to be used as a public library, school room, and for the preservation of the collections made under the authority herein granted." The Rehoboth Public Library is supported mainly by the Antiquarian Society, and is managed by a Committee under direction of the Society.[1]

THE LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Lexington Historical Society was organized 16 March, 1886. Prior to that date a circular was issued to the following effect: "It is proposed to form a society in Lexington for historical research and study in matters connected with the history of the town, and of families and individuals who have been identified with it, also for suitably commemorating from year to year by appropriate services the great event which has rendered the town forever memorable in the annals of our country, the object being to perpetuate a knowledge of our local history, and to awaken and sustain new interest in the honor and good name of Lexington." The Society was incorporated 29 July, 1886, for the purpose of "the study of the history of Lexington and of individuals and families identified with it, the preservation of such knowledge and of such relics as illustrate its history, and the commemoration, by fitting public services, of the event which has rendered the town forever memorable in the annals of the country." One volume of proceedings and papers was issued in 1890. It is entitled Proceedings of Lexington Historical Society, and Papers relating to the Town, read by some of the Members. Eighty-two pages are devoted to the Proceedings, and one hundred and forty-one pages to fourteen papers and an appendix. A collection of historical material belonging to the Society is deposited in the Cary Library.[2]

[1] The Historical Society, Rehoboth, is the title of a Society included in the list published by the American Historical Association. I cannot find that there ever was a society bearing this title.

[2] See No. 45, Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University.

THE MANCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Manchester Historical Society is not incorporated. It was formed to gather whatever might contribute towards giving a full and accurate history of the town. The organization was effected 7 June, 1886. The papers and collections of the Society are kept in the library room of the Public Library of Manchester, where the meetings of the Society are usually held. The meetings are quarterly, and papers read at them are usually published in the Manchester "Cricket." The publication by the town of the Town Records is due to the influence of this Society.

THE CONCORD ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

The Concord Antiquarian Society was incorporated 15 December, 1886, "to collect and preserve objects of antiquarian and historical interest, and to stimulate research into local history and antiquities, especially of the towns included within the old limits of Concord." It has about a hundred members, men and women, residents of old Concord, which includes Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, and Carlisle. Regular meetings at which historical papers are read are held monthly. The Annual Meeting is held 12 September, the anniversary of the settlement of the town. The Society has a home and a collection of antiquities and relics. Publications, 1886, By-Laws.[1]

THE MALDEN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Malden Historical Society was incorporated 7 February, 1887, "to collect, preserve, and disseminate the local and general history of Malden, and the genealogy of Malden families; to make antiquarian collections; to collect books of general history, genealogy, and biography; and to prepare or cause to be prepared from time to time such papers and records relating to these subjects as may be of general interest to our citizens."

[1] The Concord Lyceum was incorporated 9 February, 1881, for "the general diffusion of knowledge in historical, literary, and scientific subjects," and other objects. The Publications of the Lyceum are: Address pronounced on the Anniversary of the Concord Lyceum, 4 November, 1829; and Semi-centennial, — Proceedings on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Lyceum, 7 January, 1879, Introductory Address by E. R. Hoar, Address by C. H. Walcott. Its work has apparently been rather in the field of lectures than historical papers.

THE HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In 1887, the residents of Hyde Park interested in historical matters were summoned to a meeting for the purpose of organizing an historical society. The following statement of the object of this meeting is taken from the circular letter which was issued at that time: "There is a large amount of information concerning the early days of our town in possession and knowledge of the older residents, which must soon be lost or forgotten to a great extent, unless some organized effort is made to collate and preserve it." Pursuant to this call, a meeting was held 1 March, at which the Hyde Park Historical Society was organized and a Constitution adopted, in which the object of the Society was defined as follows: "The object of this Society shall be the promotion of the study of history, with particular reference to that of Hyde Park, the preservation and perpetuation of the memory of persons and events connected with said town, and the collection of objects of historic interest." The Society was incorporated 14 April, 1890, for "the prosecution of historical, antiquarian, and literary purposes, and the acquisition, ownership, and control of such real estate and personal property as may be desirable or necessary for the prosecution of the purposes of said Corporation." It has made a collection of local papers and publications relating to the town. It issues the Hyde Park "Record," a quarterly of which eight numbers have appeared. The Society has no permanent home; but it is full of life, and is doing good work.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WATERTOWN.

The Historical Society of Watertown was established in 1888, and incorporated 25 June, 1891, "for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and publishing historical matter relating to the towns and families occupying the original township of Watertown, and in connection therewith to found and maintain a Society building with a museum, art gallery, and library." It holds meetings bi-monthly, and has a few books and pamphlets, the nucleus for a library. Some of the papers read before the Society have been published in the Magazine of American History and some in the Watertown "Enterprise." A committee of the Society will soon publish Vol. I. of the Town Records.

THE FRAMINGHAM HISTORICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

The Framingham Historical and Natural History Society was organized 31 March, 1888, and was incorporated 13 July, 1892, for the purpose of "collecting and preserving articles relating to and illustrating the history of Framingham and vicinity, natural and scientific curiosities, specimens of natural history, recording and preserving natural events that may become of interest in the future, and erecting a building as a safe repository of the same." The Society has quite a collection of books, pamphlets, and relics, but has not as yet published any proceedings or collections. It has, however, published a list of members.

THE WESTBOROUGH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Westborough Historical Society was incorporated 28 February, 1889, for "the investigation of matters of local history, the collection of objects of historical and scientific interest, and the maintenance of a library." The Society has started upon its work and has the nucleus of a library and collection. It has issued its By-Laws in the form of a folder.

THE SHEPARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Shepard Historical Society was organized in 1889. The purposes of the Society, as set forth in the Constitution, are "to collect and preserve books, manuscripts, and other memorials relating to the First Church in Cambridge, its former pastors and members, and to the parish and town in which the church is situated, and also to promote an interest in local ecclesiastical history, and to pursue other appropriate researches." Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie informs me that the membership is composed exclusively of members of the old First Church. In view of the conflicting claims between church and parish, which apparently have not yet ceased, it is proper to add that the Church Society within which this Historical Society is organized is more commonly known as the Shepard Congregational Society. The Historical Society has in its Collections some old records, a manuscript autobiography of Shepard, and other manuscripts and books. It has held meetings from time to time. A paper read before the Society by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart was

published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. V. It treated of the relations of Harvard College to the First Church of Cambridge.

THE DORCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Dorchester Historical Society was incorporated 6 April, 1891, "for the purpose of collecting and publishing information in regard to the history of that portion of the city of Boston which formerly constituted the town of Dorchester."

THE BEVERLY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Beverly Historical Society was incorporated 19 May, 1891, "for the purpose of investigating, recording, and perpetuating the history of the town of Beverly, and collecting, holding, and preserving documents, books, memoirs, relics, and all other matter illustrating its history and that of individuals or families identified with it." The Society occupies the Burley Mansion, which was bequeathed to it by Edward Burley. Quarterly meetings are provided for in its By-Laws. It has a nucleus for a library, and has some material for local history on hand. Its publications are as yet limited to its By-Laws, but it has in its possession several papers which have been read before the Society.

THE MEDFIELD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Medfield Historical Society was incorporated 14 September, 1891, for the prosecution of historical and antiquarian work and research; the collection and preservation of books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and other articles of historical and antiquarian interest; the publication of periodicals, tracts, and pamphlets devoted to or treating of historical, antiquarian, or kindred subjects; and other historical and antiquarian objects and purposes." Its publications are Charter, By-Laws, and List of Officers, 1891. Provision is made for stated monthly meetings.[1]

[1] The Ipswich Historical Society is included in the list of Historical Societies of the United States published by the American Historical Association. Mr. T. Frank Waters, the President of this organization, thinks the name "historical society" rather presumptuous to apply to the little circle of lovers of antiquarian research who have been in the habit of holding meetings since 1891, at which papers have been read covering points of local history, but who have neither

THE FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Fitchburg Historical Society was organized 3 February, 1892. The objects of the Society, as expressed in the Constitution, are to collect, preserve, and transmit the materials for local history and genealogy, particularly such as pertain to Fitchburg and the northern towns of Worcester County, and to encourage among its members a love for historical research. The present number of members is fifty. Monthly meetings are held. No publications have as yet been issued. The Society has a nucleus for a library, consisting of some two hundred bound volumes and about a thousand pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, etc., largely of a local character. A good degree of interest is manifested, and the Society apparently has a prosperous future before it.

THE CAPE ANN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Cape Ann Historical Society was incorporated 9 February, 1892, "for the purpose of investigating, recording, and perpetuating the history of Cape Ann, and collecting, holding, and preserving documents, books, memoirs, relics, and all other matters illustrating its history and that of individuals or families identified with it." The headquarters of the Society are in Gloucester. Its regular meetings are on the second Wednesday of each month. The Society is young, and has not as yet made a record; but it has among its members some who are intent upon keeping alive the interest in historical matters which led to its foundation.

THE DANVERS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Danvers Historical Society was organized in 1892, and incorporated 5 January, 1893, for "the purpose of collecting and preserving such publications, manuscripts, pictures, memorials, and specimens as may illustrate local and general history, but particularly the annals and natural history of the town of Danvers; establishing within the town a library and museum, in which such treasures as it may thus receive or procure shall be deposited and

Charter nor Constitution, library nor house. Monthly meetings have practically been held this winter (1892–93). It would be strange if the enthusiasm which has maintained this interest in the objects of the Society should not ripen into a permanent organization.

kept, and generally fostering among its members and others, by meetings and lectures, and in various ways, a love of historical, literary, and scientific pursuits." Under the auspices of this Society, the Bi-centennial Anniversary of the delusion known as Salem Witchcraft — which began in "Salem Village," now Danvers — was observed, in 1892. The learned and exhaustive address on that occasion was delivered by our associate, Mr. Goodell.

THE OLD SOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Old South Historical Society was organized in 1892. The object of the Society as stated in the Constitution is the study of American History and the promotion of good citizenship. Quarterly meetings are provided for. The June, September, and December meetings are for the reading and discussion of papers. The affairs of the Society are managed by a Senate consisting of the Old South Prize Essayists and the officers of the Society, acting in concert with the Directors of the Old South Studies in History. For the past twelve years prizes for essays on subjects in American history have been offered by the Directors of the Old South Studies in History. The competition has been open each year to all who have graduated from the Boston High Schools during the current and the preceding year. Each year there has been a course of lectures on historical subjects, known as the Old South Lectures for Young People, and the subjects for the essays are chosen with reference to the general subject treated in the lectures for that year. Historical tracts have been published each year in connection with each lecture. These tracts are known as Old South Leaflets. The expense of all this has been borne by Mrs. Mary Hemmenway; and it forms a part, and only a part, of what is known as Old South Work. All of it is volunteer work, entirely independent of the Old South Association. One outcome of this work is the Historical Society, the members of which are at present necessarily youthful.[1]

[1] The Old South Museum Association was incorporated 21 February, 1877, "to form a collection of historic memorials and in other ways to encourage a public interest in American History." This Association never proceeded beyond incorporation.

The Old South Association in Boston was incorporated 11 May, 1877, "for the purpose of acquiring and holding the Old South Meeting House in Boston

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, incorporated 29 December, 1892, as The Massachusetts Society, proposes to hold monthly meetings, and will publish its Proceedings.[1]

The foregoing comprise all that come within the strict interpretation of my definition of an historical society; but it will be seen that the list does not include several well-known societies which are ordinarily classed as historical societies. In order to bring within easy reach such information on the subject as I have at command, I group these latter societies by themselves, arranged chronologically by the dates of their organization, adding the titles of such other organizations of similar standing as I have been able to obtain.

and the land under the same upon the corner of Milk Street and Washington Street in said city, for public, historical, memorial, educational, charitable, and religious uses." The main purpose of this incorporation seems to be to hold the property.

[1] The following named Societies have been organized or chartered since this paper was read:

The Bedford Historical Society was organized 29 March, 1893, for the purpose of collecting and preserving objects and facts of local historical interest. Monthly meetings are provided for, at which papers are expected to be read. A valuable collection of historical material and relics, which has already grown up in connection with the Free Public Library, has fostered an interest in historical matters, and has led to the organization of the Society under the inspiration of Mr. Abram English Brown, the historian of Bedford.

The Wakefield Historical Society was incorporated 5 May, 1893. Its purposes are "the collection and preservation of all historical, genealogical, and antiquarian facts, records, and mementoes concerning the town of Wakefield and vicinity, and relating to the natural history of the region, with lectures, discussions, reports, and essays on the topics within the scope of the purposes set forth."

The Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames of America was incorporated 13 April, 1893. Its headquarters are in Boston. The purposes of the Society are "the collection of historical and genealogical information relating to the Colonial period of Massachusetts and the encouragement of interest in American history."

The Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was incorporated 29 April, 1893. Its headquarters are in Boston. Its purposes are "patriotic, antiquarian, and historical."

THE PILGRIM SOCIETY.

Certain associates were incorporated under this title 24 January, 1820, "for the purpose of procuring, in the town of Plymouth, a suitable lot or plat of ground for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the memories of the virtue, the enterprise, and unparalleled sufferings of their ancestors, who first settled in that ancient town; and for the erection of a suitable building for the accommodation of the meetings of said associates." In 1883, additional powers to acquire property were conferred upon the Society, and its purposes were enlarged by adding "for the creation and preservation of memorials of the Pilgrim Fathers." Publications: 1850, Report on the Expediency of Celebrating the Landing of the Pilgrims on the Twenty-second of that Month; 1871, Proceedings at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims; 1883, Speech at the Pilgrim Celebration, 1 August, 1883; 1889, The Proceedings at the Celebration of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, 1 August, 1889, on the completion of the national monument to the Pilgrims. The Society has a hall at Plymouth filled with memorials. It has a valuable library and has secured the title to many sites of interest in Plymouth.[1]

[1] Pilgrim Fathers Hall Association. A number of associates were by special act authorized in 1889 to incorporate under the general laws of the Commonwealth with the above corporate title. No certificate has been issued by the Secretary of the Commonwealth bearing this title. The name suggests a memorial association, but it probably is fraternal in its character. The curious character of the Act of Incorporation conveys the idea of an attempt at a joke.

The Plymouth Society, Plymouth, is the title of an Historical Society given in the Magazine of American History, July, 1890, p. 424. This title was also given in the list published by the American Historical Association in 1891, but does not appear in the 1892 list.

The Cape Cod Pilgrim Memorial Association, of Provincetown, was incorporated 29 February, 1892, for "the purpose of erecting at Provincetown a monument or other suitable memorial or memorials to commemorate the arrival of the 'Mayflower' and the landing of the Pilgrims at Provincetown on the twenty-first day of November, in the year sixteen hundred and twenty, and to perpetuate, by enduring memorials, the memory of the signing of the Compact, the birth of Peregrine White, the death of Dorothy May Bradford, and the other interesting historical incidents connected with the 'Mayflower' while at anchor in Cape Cod harbor, and for the purpose of acquiring and holding land upon which to erect such memorials, and of constructing a building or buildings to accommodate the meetings and to contain the cabinets, collections, and libraries of said Society."

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

The Bunker Hill Monument Association was incorporated 7 June, 1823, for the construction of a monument in Charlestown, to perpetuate the memory of the early events of the American Revolution. 28 March, 1865, this Association was authorized to rebuild the Beacon Monument, which was built in the year 1790 by the citizens of Boston to commemorate that train of events which led to the American Revolution and finally secured liberty and independence to the United States. A History of the Association was published in 1877. The volume is sumptuous in appearance, with broad margins to the pages and expensive illustrations. The Proceedings at the Annual Meeting on the seventeenth of June have been published continuously since 1861.[1]

THE AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

On the twelfth of April, 1854, the Congregational Library Association of Boston was incorporated "for the purpose of establishing and perpetuating a library of the religious history of New England, and for the erection of a suitable building for the accommodation of the same, and for the use of charitable societies." 10 May, 1864, the Congregational Library Association was authorized to change its name, and to take the name, The American Congregational Association, with increased powers for denominational work. The foregoing dates are taken from the Acts of the Legislature. It appears from an Historical Sketch of the American Congregational Association, by I. P. Langworthy, published in 1873, that the organization of the Library Association was effected in 1851, and that it was re-organized in 1853. The Report of the Directors for 1892 is termed the Thirty-ninth Annual Report. The object of the American Congregational Association is stated in its Constitution to be to found and perpetuate a library of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, and a collection of portraits,

[1] The Wadsworth Monument Association was incorporated 1825. The Duston Monument Association was incorporated 1856. The Standish Monument Association was incorporated 1872. A number of persons were made a corporation in 1874 to erect a monument to General Joseph Warren. All of these Associations partake somewhat of the character of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

and whatever else shall seem to illustrate Puritan history, and promote the general interests of Congregationalism. In 1889 it had a library of thirty-five thousand volumes, fifty-two thousand pamphlets, thirty-one thousand unbound serials.[1] The Association does not profess to publish other accounts of its proceedings than are contained in its Annual Reports. It was, however, for a time part owner of the "Congregational Quarterly." [2]

THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

The Prince Society, organized in 1858, was incorporated in 1874, "for the purpose of preserving and extending the knowledge of American History by editing and printing such manuscripts, rare tracts, and volumes as are mostly confined in their use to historical students and public libraries." Membership in this Society is obtained by subscribing for the publications. These volumes are not put on the market, but are delivered only to subscribers. The value of the work performed by the Society can best be judged by examining their publications, which up to the present time have been: New England's Prospect, by William Wood, preface by Charles Deane; The Hutchinson Papers, reprinted from the edition of 1769, edited by William H. Whitmore; John Dunton's Letters from New England, edited by William H. Whitmore; the Andros Tracts, with a memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, by the editor, William H. Whitmore; Sir William Alexander and American Colonization, with a memoir of Sir William Alexander, by the editor, Rev. Edmund F. Slafter; John Wheelwright, with a memoir by the editor, Charles H. Bell; Voyages of the Northmen to America, edited, with an introduction, by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter; The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, edited with a memoir and historical illustrations by Rev. Dr. Edmund F. Slafter; New English Canaan, or New Canaan, by Thomas Morton, edited by Charles Francis Adams, Jr.; Voyage of Peter Esprit Radisson, edited by Gideon D. Scull; Captain John Mason, the founder of New Hampshire, edited by John Ward Dean; Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his province of

[1] See No. 45, Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University.

[2] "The American Congregational Historical Society, Chelsea," is the title of a Society given in the Magazine of American History, July, 1890, p. 424. I have not been able to discover that there ever was such an organization in Chelsea.

Maine, with a memoir, by James P. Baxter. The Society has in preparation: Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a memoir, by David G. Haskins, Jr.; Samuel Maverick, with a memoir, by Frank W. Hackett; Edward Randolph, with a memoir, by Robert N. Toppan.

THE BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The Boston Numismatic Society was instituted 3 March, 1860, for the promotion of Numismatic Science and the formation of a cabinet and library for the use of its members. 19 March, 1870, it was incorporated, and the purposes of the Corporation are the "collecting and preserving medals and coins, and publishing accounts of the same; also the collecting of a Numismatic Library, elucidating the history of ancient and modern medals and coins." References to the Proceedings will be found in the Magazine of American History, and in the American Journal of Numismatics and Bulletin of the American Numismatic and Archæological Societies.[1]

THE BERKSHIRE ATHENÆUM.

The Berkshire Athenæum was incorporated in 1871, for the purpose of diffusing knowledge by means of a library and of historical and natural curiosities. It has been said of it that it may fairly claim to be the literary, historical, and artistic centre of the county. It has a museum of local antiquities, and one department of its library is devoted to Massachusetts history. The Athenæum is located at Pittsfield.[2]

THE OAK TREE ASSOCIATION.

The Oak Tree Association, Charlemont, is a neighborhood organization, which holds Annual Meetings, at which the officers

[1] The Boston Memorial Association was incorporated 2 April, 1880. Its purposes are "the ornamentation of the city of Boston, the care of its memorials, the preservation and improvement of its public grounds, and the erection of works of art within the limits of the city." This Association is included in the list of Historical Societies in the United States issued by the American Historical Association. A society called the Boston Memorial Society is also included in the same list. This is obviously an error.

[2] An interesting description of the historical features of the library is contained in No. 45, Bibliographical Contributions, Library of Harvard University.

The Becket Athenæum was incorporated 8 March, 1888, to establish and maintain, among other things, a library, and an antiquarian and art museum.

are elected. It has existed about twenty years. It derives its name from a large oak near the geographical centre of the town, around which cluster historical reminiscences. The objects of the Association are to collect and preserve items of history of the surrounding neighborhood. The Annual Meetings are both social and literary in character.

There are other Societies which introduce into the definition of their purposes language which might lay the foundation for a claim that they intended to perform historical work. A Canadian Relief Society announces that it is "for the encouragement of literary, historical, dramatic, and musical talents." The suspicion arises that the author of the petition for a charter meant to say "histrionic" instead of "historical." An association whose first purpose appears to be "the maintenance of a place of social meetings" adds to the functions of the corporation the "historical commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill." A military club prefaces the social functions described in its charter by stating that its purpose is "to maintain and increase the memories and traditions of the military and naval service of the United States of America." A society organized as Sons of Naval Veterans, and which changed its name, November, 1892, to Naval Legion of the United States, states that its purpose is "to unite the sons of naval veterans in social, literary, educational, historical, monumental, and antiquarian work." The Lynn Natural History Society is organized for the "purpose of collecting and preserving materials for civil" as well as for "natural" history. There have been Historical Societies at Harvard University and at Williams College, neither of which is in active existence to-day.[1]

CONCLUSION.

Notwithstanding the wide range covered by the topical and limited societies in the foregoing lists, the special field which this Society was organized to cover is not pre-empted, except so far as

[1] The Chelsea Veteran Firemen's Association was incorporated 4 January, 1893, and one of its purposes is said to be "the preservation of historical matter relating to firemen."

The Anchor Club Association was incorporated 19 May, 1893. It has its headquarters at Lynn. Its purposes are "to encourage and promote an interest in antiquarian and historical subjects."

it has been taken up by those organizations which set no bounds to their work. It is perhaps desirable, in order to obtain a full and rounded view of any period of history, that the impressions should be recorded which it has made upon men of widely different conditions, whose minds have been cultivated under various methods of education, whose capacity for the interpretation of events has been modified by the teachings of religious leaders, whose patriotism may perhaps influence their opinions, and whose jealousies may lead them to give undue prominence to this or that people, or perhaps to this or that leader among men. A knowledge of the opinions of all classes of men, whatever their nationality, whatever their creed, is obviously desirable in order to reach the resultant which may be termed the verdict of the civilized world. Yet I count it most fortunate that the development of our early New England history has been placed in the hands of the men of New England. I do not doubt that an analysis of the membership of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the American Antiquarian Society would disclose the fact that nearly all the members would have been eligible to this Society. If at times these interpreters of our history have been disposed to deal tenderly with the stern leaders of the theocracy who drove from the little towns those who differed from them in opinion, who ostracized the Church of England men, and exiled the Quakers; if these writers have not criticised the steps taken in the Antinomian Controversy as rigorously as they are criticised to-day, — yet we may congratulate ourselves that we can find no attempt at concealment, misstatement, or wilful misinterpretation of facts. Our historians have never asked that the story of the Salem Witchcraft persecutions should be stricken from our school-books; nor would they have protested against the verdict of posterity upon the acts of the Inquisition, if it had been a New England institution. Their idea of writing history has been to state all the facts. It is only their estimate of the influence of men and their deeds upon the development of our government which is personal, and has been liable to be affected by the atmosphere of current opinions. That these writers have been fair and honest, and have not sought to conceal facts in order to exalt their heroes, will be admitted by all. That we can best rely in the future upon men of the same stock for candor of statement in dealing with events, and for a

sympathetic appreciation of the lives of our forefathers, will not be denied by many. This is our justification for seeking to place a specific line of historic work in the hands of a class.

At the outset we recognize the objection which may be raised, that biographers, as a rule, make heroes of their subjects, and that men who treat of topics are apt to be influenced by their standpoint. A recent examination of the different accounts of the fight at Oriskany, in 1777, impressed me strongly with these facts. The differences between the English and the American accounts we should naturally expect; but in addition to the general accounts on both sides, there were the local accounts and the stories of the Indians on the American side, and the historians of the Hessians on the British. Whichever of these accounts you read, you will conclude that the brunt of the fighting was borne by the troops with which the particular author is dealing. The failing is natural, and to be expected in any author who approaches his subject in any other than a broad, judicial spirit. All men are subject to be influenced by their wishes and their hopes in the discussion of questions of politics, religion, or history; but I believe there is no class of writers who have dealt more frankly with events with which their ancestors were associated than the recent students of our own history, in whose veins is to be found the blood of our New England stock.

In what manner a spirit of fellowship can be developed among our members can best be left to the judgment of the Council. This, however, I feel strongly, that if our meetings are to prove interesting, and if our Society is to make a record for itself, the members who have the time at command for such a purpose must be prepared to submit for our consideration original papers worthy to be printed. Such papers should be communicated to the Society at our Stated Meetings, and, while they should go forth under the author's name, they should be given to the world as the work of the Society in its published Transactions. In the selection of new members due regard should be had for the preservation of a suitable working force; and reliance should always be placed upon the members of the Society for the materials which are to make the proceedings at our meetings of interest. Under no circumstances ought we, in my judgment, to import outside talent in order to attract numbers. It would be far better to have fewer Stated Meetings than not to rely upon ourselves.

In conclusion, let us hope that the members of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, in the work which they are about to perform, in depicting the deeds of their ancestors and developing the influence which these worthies have had in building up our government, will never approach the subject in any other frame of mind than that of perfect fairness. This we have a right to expect from them; it is their birthright. If they live up to it, we can prophesy a bright career for the Society.

The Certificate respecting the change in the Society's name, required by law to be filed in the office of the Honorable the Secretary of the Commonwealth, was filed by the Treasurer on Wednesday, the Eighth day of March; whereupon a certificate, of which the following is a copy, was issued: —

CERTIFICATE OF CHANGE OF CORPORATE NAME.

No. 29.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Be it known, That whereas **The Massachusetts Society,** a Corporation organized under the laws of this Commonwealth, and subject to the provisions of Chapter one hundred and fifteen of the Public Statutes and Acts amendatory thereof, has complied with the provisions of Chapter three hundred and sixty of the Acts of the year eighteen hundred and ninety-one, as appears from the certified copy of the order of the Commissioner of Corporations, authorizing said Corporation to change its name and adopt the name of **The Colonial Society of Massachusetts,** and the certificate of the President, Treasurer, and a majority of the Council of said Corporation, duly filed in this office pursuant to the provisions of section three of the aforesaid chapter:

Now, Therefore, I, WILLIAM M. OLIN, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, **Do Hereby Certify,** that the name which said Corporation shall bear is **The Colonial Society of Massachusetts,** which shall hereafter be its legal name.

Seal

Witness my official signature hereunto subscribed, and the Seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts hereunto affixed, this Eighth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Three.

WM. M. OLIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

MARCH MEETING, 1893.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, on Wednesday, 15 March, 1893, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Dr. GOULD in the chair.

After the record of the February meeting had been read and approved, the President said: —

At our last meeting we assembled under the name by which we had been incorporated, THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY. To-day we enjoy that name no longer. One week ago, the last of the legal formalities attending the change of name was complied with, and we are now here as THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The circumstances under which the change was made are doubtless known to you all. After the incorporation of the Society, unofficial information was received that our name was regarded by certain members of the Massachusetts Historical Society as liable to introduce confusion with their own. Without entering upon any consideration of the correctness of this view, the Council resolved, unanimously, to take such steps as should not merely remove all occasion for such criticism, but also make evident our desire to avoid any action which might be unwelcome even to a single member of a Society which we hold in great respect, and to which this community owes a debt of gratitude for very important services. A letter was therefore addressed to the Historical Society, embodying the resolves of the Council, together with a statement of the reasons which had led us to believe that the original name would not be unwelcome to its members, nor be regarded by any of them as conflicting with their rights. In further courtesy a second letter was sent as soon as the change of name had been effected.

The following is the full text of both letters: —

THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY,
BOSTON, 24 January, 1893.

To the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN, — At a meeting of the Council of THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY, held 18 January, 1893, the following resolutions were passed: —

Whereas, We have learned that in the opinion of the Massachusetts Historical Society the Corporate name of this Society is likely to produce confusion; and

Whereas, We feel that the mere discussion of a point of this nature would necessarily tend to create ill-will; and

Whereas, We are desirous of maintaining friendly relations with all Societies whose purposes are kindred to our own; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Council of The Massachusetts Society hereby recommend that the necessary legal steps be taken to change the name of the Society in such manner as to avoid any possible claim of confusion on the part of any existing Society.

Resolved, That while it is with profound regret that we take this step, and while we believe that a review of the preliminary steps taken by the Incorporators of this Society in the selection of a name will convince the members of both Societies that the Incorporators were not inconsiderate or hasty in their action, but, on the contrary, had good right to believe that the name selected would not be objectionable to the older Society, yet we believe we can assure the Massachusetts Historical Society that the foregoing recommendation of the Council will be accepted by the Society without discussion, and that the steps necessary to carry it into effect will be promptly taken.

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to convey to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the name of the Council of this Society, information of the foregoing action.

In forwarding these Resolutions, the Council beg to say that the name which was selected expressed concisely what was considered desirable to embody in the Corporate title of the Society, and was, for that reason, adopted by it. The Council desire also to call attention to the fact that the membership of this Society is limited to those who can claim descent from Colonial Ancestry. This latter fact, when taken in connection with the last clause of

the Articles of Incorporation,[1] seemed to them adequately to distinguish this Society from other organizations whose purposes were similar, and to relieve it from the possible statement on the part of any person that those purposes were *precisely identical* with the purposes of any other Society. It would not be strictly fair, perhaps, to reinforce this point by calling attention to the wide field of possible activity permitted by the Charter of the Historical Society, of which it has never availed itself,[2] and relative to which no parallel suggestion can be found in the Articles of Incorporation of this Society. It will probably be said that the purposes of the Massachusetts Historical Society are to be found rather in the valuable work which it has performed than in the language of its Charter, while the purposes of this Society can at present only be found in the Articles of Incorporation. It is with full recognition of the rights of the Historical Society to be judged by its work rather than by its Charter that the points have been stated which seem to relieve this Society from the charge of *precise identity* of purpose.

It must also be borne in mind that the Incorporators of this Society were firmly convinced that in the opinion of the President of the Historical Society no objection would be raised by any member of your Society to the use of the name which was adopted. When they executed the Articles of Incorporation they were under the impression, not only that no charge could arise that this Society had infringed in any sense the rights of the Historical Society, but they believed that they had been even punctilious in their attempts to avoid any such imputation.

In conclusion the Council beg to assure the Historical Society of their regrets that any misunderstanding on this point should have jeopardized the friendly relations of the two Societies, even for so short a time as it has taken to set forth these facts.

By order of the Council,

Andrew McFarland Davis,
Corresponding Secretary.

[1] That clause, expressing, in part, the purposes of this Society, is in these words: "To inspire among our members a spirit of fellowship based upon a proper appreciation of our common ancestry."

[2] "The collection and preservation of materials for a . . . natural history of the United States." — *Massachusetts Special Laws*, i. 487, 488.

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS,
CAMBRIDGE, 9 March, 1893.

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D.,
Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR, — I received yesterday from Dr. Gould a notification that my signature was needed for the completion of the Statement required in the proceedings taken for the change of the name of THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY.

It is now six weeks since, in behalf of the Council of this Society, I addressed a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society in which I quoted the Resolutions passed by the Council, and recapitulated the circumstances which had misled us into the belief that the name which we had adopted would not be objectionable to the Historical Society. The action, which in that letter we announced that we were about to take, has now been consummated; and the legal title of our Society to-day is THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Very truly yours,

A. MCF. DAVIS,
Corresponding Secretary.

The Hon. MELVILLE WESTON FULLER was unanimously elected an Honorary Member.

The following-named gentlemen were unanimously elected Resident Members: —

FREDERICK LOTHROP AMES.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE.
CHARLES FRANCIS CHOATE.
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.
JOHN NOBLE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.
EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER.
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.
ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN.
DARWIN ERASTUS WARE.
EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH.

The President presented Mr. GOODELL in these words:

It is an occasion for congratulation to you all that, since our last meeting, the Commissioners[1] on the publication of the Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay have been

[1] The Commissioners are Alexander Strong Wheeler, A.B., William Cross Williamson, A.M., and Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr., A.M.

reappointed for a term of three years and promptly confirmed. The continuance of this most important publication was advocated before the Judiciary Committee by representative members of the Massachusetts Bar, and by men prominent in historical investigation, with the gratifying result I have mentioned, so that we may rest in the confident assurance that the work will be duly completed in the same admirable manner in which six of the volumes have already been edited and published. It is my privilege this afternoon to present to you our associate, Mr. Goodell, under whose able and efficient direction as Editor the work has thus far gone forward, and whose name will forever remain connected with this enduring monument to his learning and unselfish devotion.

Mr. GOODELL offered to the Society for publication in its Collections a full set of copies, from the Public Record Office in London, of the Commissions of the Royal Governors of the Territory and Dominion of New England and of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, covering the entire period from the Presidency of Dudley over the Council of New England, in 1686, to the Governorship of Gage, in 1774, together with their Instructions, and similar copies of the Commissions of the several Lieutenant-Governors and Secretaries of the Province.[1] These Instructions and most of the Commissions have never been printed.

Mr. GOODELL then distributed among the members photo-lithographic copies of an early petition from the inhabitants of Bass River,[2] Salem, to the General Court, that that settlement be made a separate township, and read the following paper relating thereto: —

[1] These documents are now in press, and will appear as Volume II. of the Publications of this Society.

[2] The name still commonly applied to the channel between Beverly proper and "Ryal Side." At its head, where it receives the brook which forms the upper part of Bass River, the farms of the "Old Planters" of Salem were laid out. This channel appears as "Beverly Creek" on the Coast Survey chart from which the map accompanying this paper is copied.

NORTH SALEM
SALEM
NORTH RIVER
RIVER
BEVERLY CREEK
Eastern R.R.
Salem Bridge
BEVERLY
HARBOR
Beacon
Tucks Pt.
Porter's Rock
Beacon
Ram's Horn Rock
Beacon
COLLINS COVE
Fort Lee
Salem
PALMER'S COVE
Derby Wharf Light

BEVERLY AND THE SETTLEMENT AT BASS RIVER.

The minute critical studies of those accomplished antiquaries, Henry FitzGilbert Waters and William P. Upham, have demonstrated the falsity of the tradition long believed, that the planters of Conant's Colony built their first cottages far from the centre of the present city of Salem. There is no doubt that generally such of those fishermen, shoremen, and husbandmen as did not remain on Cape Ann side first built along a line nearly coincident with the middle portion of the present Essex Street in Salem, their lots running thence to the North and South Rivers. After the arrival of the new-comers under Endicott, an agreement was concluded between the two bands of colonists, in accordance with which some of the Old Planters exchanged their house-lots in Salem proper for farms at or near the head of Bass River, — the name given by them to the northernmost of several estuaries running inland from the harbor between what are now Beverly and Danvers and the city of Salem.

It requires no effort of imagination to picture the primitive beauty of the site chosen for this plantation ; and a slight study of the topography of the neighborhood will suffice to show that for the purposes of agriculture and curing fish, for convenient mill privileges, for fuel, timber, abundance of pure water, and easy access at all seasons to the sea and to the prospective neighboring settlements, to be reached by canoes (then the common means of conveyance), nothing better could be desired.

All the planters on Cape Ann side, however, including such as had never settled at Naumkeag, became members of the church or congregation gathered at Salem proper and attending worship at the meeting-house which stood upon the site of the present First Church, to and from which, in fair and tempestuous weather alike, all were expected to pass every Lord's day and lecture day.

As soon as paths were opened through the wilderness, it became possible to make these journeys overland, with some fording until bridges were built, by following a circuit of some eight or ten miles.

With the increase of population on Cape Ann side (which, in

thirty years, had reached to not less than sixty families) their connection with the First Church became a burden so evident to all concerned, that upon their application, in 1650, "for the means of grace among themselves," the church willingly consented that the brethren at Bass River, which name they applied to all the territory now included in Beverly, look out some able and approved teacher to be employed among them, they still holding communion with the old church. Some four years elapsed, it would seem, before a teacher was thus employed. The first teacher was probably Jeremiah Hobart, son of the Rev. Peter, of Hingham, who, since it is certain that he removed to Barbadoes in July, 1655, is more likely to have preceded than followed his brother Joshua, one of the two teachers successively employed before the Rev. John Hale began his labors, in 1664.

In 1657, under the lead of their teacher, Joshua Hobart, the brethren at Bass River applied for and obtained the unanimous consent of their fellow church-members at Salem to form a church by themselves, and thereupon, the same year, they built their first meeting-house, having probably worshipped previously either in some dwelling-house or other structure erected for secular uses.

Down to 1660, the steps in the organization of the First Church in Beverly are to be learned solely from the initial entry in their own church records. The records of the parent church at Salem were revised that year, and substantially nothing but the original covenant and the lists of members was transferred to the new book, now remaining. The old book was left in the custody of the elders, by whom it was preserved for many years, but has long since been given up as lost or destroyed. The difficulty of ascertaining the earlier history of the Beverly church is increased by the imperfection of the Salem town records prior to 1660; and this enhances the historical importance of the brief preliminary entry in the Beverly church records, which the Rev. John Hale is supposed to have made, — a supposition, however, somewhat shaken by the fact that his name is therein repeatedly written "Hailes," a variation of the spelling which he is not known to have sanctioned in any other instance.

Thus far I have traced the efforts to obtain greater convenience in the exercise of religious worship. Parallel with these efforts, attempts were made from time to time to effect a separa-

9.5.59

To the Honoured the Generall Court, consisting of the honourd and worshipfull Magistrats, and Deputyes of the Country, Now convened at Boston: the petition of the Inhabitants of that part of Salem vpon the Northerly side of the ferry towards Ipswitch.

Humbly Shewith.

That whereas wee your petitioners (being vpwards of Sixty families, who by reason of our inconvenience of meeting sufficiently vpon the Lords dayes at Salem towne, it being very troblesome and dangerous to transport of Sojors and families winter and Sommer ouer the ferry; whereat we have some yeaze since Liberty from the towne & Church of Salem (who we thanke them were sensible of o^r burden) to erect a meeting house and to call a minister amongst vs, they promising to free us from such charges as might which purpose, we have by the Covenant among o^rselves, to contribute into all charges concerning a publike ministry amongst vs, which we have through Gods mercy enjoyed fiue yeares and vpwards; Yet o^r petitioners fearing if not foreseeing, that we cannot in all likelyhood, be able long to Continue in this way, much lesse settle the ordayneances of gods house amongst vs (which o^r hearts lye for) by reason that if any should through dissatisfaction to us, or vnsoundnesse in judgment, & other wise fall off from us and their Covenant, we by this gapp, should be broken to peices, and we cannot attayne o^r ends, without power farther from this honoured Court; these and Such like considerations Move us yor poore petitioners humbly to Crave and request of this worthy honoured Court. that.

Your Wor^pp. would be pleased, the towne hauing allready done so much for vs, and Not loosing ability (as they Conceiue) to impowre us: to take o^r poore vnsettled condition in to yor serious Consideration, So as to be perswaded, & moued to giue, grant, & enact by yor authority, (it booing not prejudice, as we conceiue either to the towne & country) that we may be a townes hip or village of o^r owne and enabled to carry on the s^d. ordinances & charges requisite to a setled gospell ministry which only we cannot expect to be settled amongst vs We doe humbly request you, if this may not be, that however we may be inuested with power from this court, to act in all cases amongst o^r selues as a towne shipp. And whereas there are diuers whose habitations & Lands ly in Salem bounds nigh vs, who do not contribute to Salem, those may belong to vs & Contribute to the maintaynance of the ministry amongst vs, & lastly that according to o^r humble petition formerly presented to this Court Concerning a military Company, we humbly Conceiue o^r selues to be a competent numb^r for a traynd bande, according to law, we againe beg freedom from traynings at the towne & humbly Crave Liberty to be a Company of o^r selues.

These things we leaue to yor wise Consideration, hoping that yor bowells will moue towards vs, in granting yor poore petitioners requests; which we prosecute we intend for gods glory, & we assure yee the granting of o^r desires will be to the great welfare of the Soules & bodyes of yor humble petitioners and of their seed after them & the lord the mighty Conceller direct yo^u by setting p^rsident among yee, enabling yee to steer the shipp of this commonwelth aright so as may be to the p^rseruation of gospell peace & order amongst us, & the perpetuating of his name glory

So prayes yor Humble Petitioners. &c

Roger Conant
Roger Espindike
Samuell Gowing
John Hill
Nathaniell Stone
Humfrey Woodbery
Peter Palfrey
Dan^ll. Rea
William Allen
Peter Palfrey
Roger Haye
Sydney Beauty
John Hasey
William Ingaue
Richard Hasey
Henry Herrick
Hugh Laskin
Thomas Pitman

Ffra: Morgan
Samuel morgan
Josiah Scottow
Thomas Clark
Robert Dixy
Richard Stacie
John Horn

Roger Hoskall
Henry Herrick
Barbary Garret
William Mayo
John Greene
Edmond Grafft
Nathaniell masters

Laurence Leach
John Lee
William Allet
William Raimont
Edward Bishop

tion of the two settlements in secular affairs. Thus, in June, 1647, the inhabitants of Mackerel Cove, on the seaboard further north, were released from their obligation to join in keeping the watch in Salem. The drawing up of the paper,[1] a photo-lithograph of which I have had made to accompany this essay, is the next movement I have discovered looking to the establishment of a new town.

From the General Court records it was always known that such a petition was presented; but I am not aware that the existence of the petition itself has been mentioned in any publication. No copy of it is to be found in the folios of the State archives, nor is it indexed therein. It was accidentally discovered while searching, in the course of the work which I am editing for the State, for a report to the Legislature in 1703 of a committee appointed to ascertain what encroachments had been made on the highway laid out in 1640 from Rowley to Beverly. It was my good fortune to discover both these papers, which I had copied forthwith; but recently, on again applying for them, for the purpose of critically collating them with the copies, they could not be found until, by order of the Secretary, they were re-discovered, after special and thorough search. This experience suggested the propriety of having the older and more interesting document reproduced in fac-simile. Below I give it in type: —

9. 3d 59 *To the Honoured the Generall Court, consisteing of the honoured and Worshipfull Magistrates, and Deputyes of the Country, Now convened at Boston: the petition of the Inhabitants of that part of Salem vpon the Northerne side of the fferry toward Ipswitch.*

Humbly Sheweth.

That whereas wee your petitioners, (being vpwards of Sixty families, who by reason of our inconveniency of meeting publiquely vpon the Lords dayes at Salem towne, it beeing very troblesome and dangerous, to transport or selves. and families winter and sommer over the fferry;) whereas we have had Some. years since Liberty from the towne

[1] I regret to say I have not had opportunity to form an opinion as to how many of the signatures to this interesting document are autographic. Roger Conant, who heads the list, and Edward Bishop, the last subscriber, appear unquestionably to have written their own names.

& Church of Salem, (who we thanke them were sensible of o^{r} burden) to erect a meeting-house, and to call a minister amongst vs, they promiseing to free us from Such charges as these at towne; vnto which purpose, we have, & did then Covenant among o^{r} selves, to contribute vnto all charges concerneing a publike ministry amongst vs, which wee have through Gods mercy enjoyed for five years and vpwards; Yet yor petitioners, feareing if not foreseeing, that we cannot in all likelyhood, be able Long to continew in this way, much lesse settle the ordayneances of gods house amongst vs (which o^{r} hearts long for,) by reason that if any should through dissaffection to us, or vnsoundenesse in judgment, or other wise fall off from us and their covenant, wee by this gapp, should be broken to peices [and] we cannot attayne o^{r} ends, without power farther from this honoured court, these and such like considerations Move vs yor poor petitioners humbly to crave and request of this worthyly honoured Court. That.

Your Worp^{s} would be pleased, the toune haveing allready done So much for vs, and Not beeing able (as they conceive) to impower us: to take o^{r} poore vnsettled condition in to yor searious consideration, So as to be perswaded, & moved to give, grant, & enact by yor authority, (it beeing noe prejudice, (as we conceive eyther to the towne o^{r} country) that we may be a towneship or villedg of & by o^{r} selves, and be enabled to carry on the publiq; charges requisite to a publiq; gospell ministry which ells we cannot expect to be ever settelled amongst us. We doe also humbly request you, if this may not bee, that however, we may bee invested with power from this court, to act in all cases amongst o^{r} selves as atowne shipp. And whereas there are divers whose habitations & Lands ly in Salem bounds neare vs, who doe not contribute to Salem, these may belong to us & contribute to the maintayneance of the ministry amongst vs, & Lastly that according to o^{r} humble petition formerly p^{r}ferred to this Court concerneing a military cumpany, we humbly conceiveing o^{r} selves to be a competent number for a trayne-bande, according to law, we[e] agayne begg freedom from trayneings at the towne & humbly crave liberty to [be] a company of o^{r} selves:

These things we leave to yor wise consideration, hopeing that yor bowells will move towards vs, in granteing yor poor petitioners requests; which we professe we intend for gods glory, & wee assure yee the granting of o^{r} desires, will be to the great welfare of the Soules & bodyes of yor humble petitioners and of their seed after them: The Lord the mighty Conceller direct yee by setting p^{r}sident a mong yee enableing yee to steer the shipp of this commonwelth aright; so as may be to the p^{r}servation of gospell peace & order amongst us, & the perpetuating of his names glory

So pray Yo^{r} Humble Petitioners.

Roger Conant	Nicholas Pach	John Stone
John Thorndike	John Pach	Roger Hoskall
Samuell Corning	Henry Bayly	Henry Herrick
John Hill	John Gally	Zackery Herreck
Nathaniell Stone	William Hoare	William Mapes
Tho: Lowthroppe	Richard Haines	John Grouer
Humphfry Woodbery	Hugh Woodberry	Osmond Traske
Zabulon Hill	John Stone Jun^{R}	Nathanniel Masters
John Lovet	Robte Morgan	Larrenc Leech
Thomas Pickton	Samuell Morgan	John Leech
Daniell Raey	Josiah Rootes	William Ellet
William Woodberry	Thomas Tuck	William Raimont
Richard Brachenbury:	Willyam Dixsey	Edward Bishop
Nicholas Woodberry.	Richard Stackhouse	

The magis^{ts} desire theire brethren y^{e} depu^{ts} to Consider of this peticon in y^{e} first place bec. the [dep]u^{ts} of Salem, may haue an op^{t}inity to object ag$^{t.}$ it Edw: Rawson *Sec[re]ty* [1]

In answer to this pet. the Deputies Conceiue that the petition^{rs} should make their Addresse to the Towne of Salem in reference to the matters herein Contayned & they agreeing to mutuall Satisfaction This Court wilbe ready to answer their Just Desires herein & to that end Desire the Towne of Salem would giue them a Speedy meeting [to] effect the Same & all with reference to ye Consent of o^{r} Honrd magis^{ts} hereto

Wm Torrey *Cleric.*

Consented to by ye magis^{ts} hereto
27 3 mo 59. Edward Rawson *sec^{ry}* [1]

Nothing in the Salem town records relative to the setting off of Beverly has been discovered prior to the following entry: —

Mar. 10 1667/8 in the afternoon.

In answer to a motion of our Brr at head of Bass Riũ prsented to vs from the geñall Court wee thinke it the best expedient for them to be a Township of themselves, if they desire it, and therin do consent if content with ye p^{r}sent bounds alredy sett them.

Felt seems to assume that this vote was responsive to the order of the General Court passed nearly nine years before, and that upon it was based the ordinance incorporating Beverly. This, however, does not appear to be such a "speedy" compliance as the Legislature required in their order upon the above petition of

[1] These official memoranda are in the margin of the original, as shown in the plate.

1659. And moreover that the inhabitants of Bass River applied anew to the town of Salem in the spring of 1668, the following further considerations seem to show conclusively: *First*, the town records of Beverly assert that "after many agitations in publique meetings," the inhabitants of Bass River and Cape Ann side chose a committee to prepare a petition (which they sent deputies to the General Court to prosecute) to the Governor and Magistrates, to be invested "with a power to choose yearly a fitt number of persons who might have power within themselves, as selectmen have in other places, & so to act in the behalfe of the place by the imploying others, officers or persons as the affairs of the place may occasion." *Second*, the record continues by asserting that the action of the General Court in October, 1668, hereafter mentioned, was in answer to this petition for a quasi-corporation. *Third*, the above record of the vote of consent by the town of Salem seems to imply that the erecting the inhabitants of Cape Ann side into a township was a better expedient than the privilege they had prayed for in the petition then under consideration, whereas in the petition of 1659 they had prayed to be made a township without limit or qualification. *Fourth*, and the strongest indication that the application now made to the General Court was not a renewal of the petition of 1659 but an entirely new proceeding, is the recital in the following conditional order thereon by the General Court at the session begun and held 27 May, 1668, which precisely agrees with the vote of Beverly as described in the town records: —

In ans^{r} to the petition of the inhabitants of yt part of Salem com̄only called Basse Riuer, humbly craving the favour of this Court to invest them wth power to choose yearely within themselues a fit number of persons who may haue power, as selectmen haue in other places, to rajse those charges that are to be defraied by & within themselues, & for the admission of those poore or others y^{t} desire to inhabitt wth them, (they being to mainteyne them if they fall into want,) & ffor what other smale causes and buisnesses, arising properly wthin themselues, fall vnder the cognizance of selectmen; also, that they may choose their constable & surveyo^{r}s for the highway, & what other officers or persons the affaires abouesajd may necessitate & occasion them to imploy; yet they would be vnderstood that their desire is still to continue with y^{t} part of the toune of Salem, vizt, in bearing wth them, & they wth us, com̄on toune & country charges in com̄on

interests & concernements, as choice of deputjes for the Generall Court, & such like, as hitherto they haue proceeded together.

The Court, on pervsall of their petition, & hauing heard w^t^ Salem deputjes sajd, judge meet to grant their request, prouided the toune of Salem doe fully concurr therew^th^ & agree thereto, wch if they shall not, the Court judgeth it meet that they manifest the same at the next sessions of this Court.

Taken together, these facts seem to leave no reasonable doubt of the nature and purport of the proceeding by which the inhabitants of Beverly again brought up the project of their independence of Salem. Having failed in their application, nine years before, to be made a separate township, they modified their request to the General Court by asking simply for authority for local self-government as a precinct of Salem, whereupon they were agreeably disappointed by the action of the Legislature, with the concurrence of the town of Salem, in yielding to their wishes as originally expressed and in incorporating them as a township by the name of Beverly. No vote of the town of Salem upon the subject, other than the above vote of the tenth of March, appears on record; and it was probably in substantial compliance with that vote that Edmund Batter made the following return to the General Court sitting 7 November, 1668, upon the order of notice, which the Court had served upon the town of Salem: —

The answer of the toune of Salem to the Courts former order is, that wee doe not see cause to consent ffurther. Wee say, that if our brethren & neighbo^rs^ of Basse Riuer side desire to be a touneship by themselues, & are content wth the lands already set out to them, wee consent to that.

Edmond Batter, p̄ order of ye toune.

Upon this the General Court immediately passed the following decree: —

The Court, on pervsall of this returne, judge it meete to grant that Basse Riuer be henceforth a touneship of themselues, referring it to Salem to accom̄odate them wth lands & bounds suitably for them, & that it be called Beverly.

While the secular or political status of the inhabitants of Bass River was thus assuming the full proportions of a distinct municipality, their ecclesiastical affairs were keeping pace.

I have briefly traced the progress of the church down to 1660, and have incidentally mentioned that Rev. John Hale, who was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1657, began his labors as teacher in the church at Beverly in 1664. The next year he was settled, on an annual salary of £70 and his firewood; and the house, which had been previously built for the accommodation of the minister, was fitted up for his use, and conditionally settled upon him and his family. Their first step of independence left the brethren at Bass River, though a separate congregation with a teacher of their own, still members and communicants of the old church at Salem. In the winter of 1666–67, they applied to their brethren at Salem to be set off as an entirely separate church, with Mr. Hale for pastor, he having been among them nearly three years. On the last of February, a day of fasting was observed by both churches, to invoke divine guidance. On the twenty-third of June, a formal petition to the Salem church was prepared. This, on the fourth of July, was seriously considered by the parent church, which, on the twenty-first, signified its consent. On the twenty-eighth of August, the formal call to the pastorate was made to Mr. Hale, who accepted. The installation ceremonies were appointed for the twentieth of September, which the brethren of the Salem church, who were notified on the ninth, attended in a body, uniting with messengers from the churches of Ipswich and Wenham. The exercises seem to have been conducted with perfect love and harmony, thus beautifully contrasting with the implacable spirit of hatred and discord so often unhappily prevalent on such occasions in the history of New England.

After the paper had been discussed by several members, Mr. GOODELL gave the following particulars of the controversy between Samuel Sewall and Judge John Saffin respecting the slave Adam, which he said he believed had not been printed. He also gave some new facts, taken from the Court Records, relating to the suits at law between the slave and his master which throw light on certain obscure passages in the pamphlets of Sewall and Saffin,

A Memorial.

FORASMUCH as Liberty is in real value next unto Life: None ou
it themselves, or deprive others of it, but upon most mature Consid

The Numerousness of Slaves at this day in the Province, and
of them under their Slavery, hath put many upon thin
the Foundation of it be firmly and well laid; so as to sustain the Vast V
built upon it. It is most certain that all Men, as they are the Sons
Coheirs; and have equal Right unto Liberty, and all other outward Co
GOD hath given the Earth [with all its Commodities] unto the Sons of
26. [illegible] all the
and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitat
should seek the Lord. Forasmuch then as we are the Offspring of GOD &c. A
Now although the Title given by the last ADAM doth infinitely better
respecting GOD and themselves; and grants them a most beneficial
Lease under the Broad Seal of Heaven, who were before only Tenants
through the Indulgence of GOD to our First Parents after the Fall, the
of all and every of their Children, remains the Time, as to one anoth
Originally, and Naturally, there is no such thing as Slavery. Joseph wa
more a Slave to his Brethren, than they were to him: and they had no n
to Sell him, than they had to Slay him. And if they had nothing to do
the Ishmaelites bargaining with them, and paying down Twenty pieces of
not make a Title. Neither could Potiphar have any better Interest in
Ishmaelites had. Gen. 37. 20. 27. 28. For he that shall in this case plea
Property, seems to have offered a great part of his own claim to Human
no proportion between Twenty Pieces of Silver, and LIBERTY. The
it self is the Claimer. If Arabian Gold be imported in any quantities, n
to meddle with it, though they might have it at easy rates, lest it
been wrongfully taken from the Owners, it would kindle a fire to the
of their whole Estate. 'Tis pity there should be more Caution used
Horse, or a little Inclass hist; than there is in purchasing Men and Wo
they are the Offspring of GOD, and their Liberty is,

Auro pretiosior Omni.

And seeing GOD hath said, *He that Stealeth a Man and Selleth him
found in his hand, he shall surely be put to Death.* Exod. 21. 16. This Law
verlasting Equity, wherein Man Stealing is ranked amongst the most
Capital Crimes: What louder Cry can there be made of that Celebrated

Caveat Emptor!

recently reprinted,[1] and in the Appendix to Saffin's pamphlet, an incomplete copy of which he now offered to the Society for publication as a paper which never has been reprinted: —

JOHN SAFFIN AND HIS SLAVE ADAM.

Among the lovely things remembered of good Samuel Sewall, nothing has more redounded to his praise than the little sheet in which, under the title of "The Selling of Joseph,"[2] he offered the first public plea for the emancipation of the negro.

Whether or not Sewall's denunciation of the wrong of slaveholding was induced by some of the incidents recounted in the narratives which follow, is not positively certain,[3] although the inference that he intended to animadvert upon the conduct of his contemporary, John Saffin,[4] receives some support from the manner

[1] See Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1863, vii. 161–165; and its Collections, Fifth Series, vi. 16–20. Also, Moore's Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, Appendix, pp. 251–256.

[2] A copy was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society in October, 1863, by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

[3] Sewall's statement of the motive which led him to write his "Apology" for the negroes, provokes the surmise that Adam and his wife may have been the anonymous persons for whom Mr. Belknap informed him he intended to apply to the Legislature. It is given in his Diary (ii. 16) under date of 19 June, 1700, as follows: —

"Having been long much dissatisfied with the Trade of fetching Negros from Guinea; at last I had a strong Inclination to Write something about it; but it wore off. At last reading Bayne, Ephes. [Paul Baynes, "Commentary on the First Chapter of the Ephesians," 1618. — Eds.] about servants, who mentions Blackamoors; I began to be uneasy that I had so long neglected doing any thing. When I was thus thinking, in came Bro^r Belknap to shew me a Petition he intended to present to the Genl Court for the freeing a Negro and his wife, who were unjustly held in Bondage. And there is a Motion by a Boston Coñittee to get a Law that all Importers of Negros shall pay 40^s p̃ head, to discourage the bringing of them. And Mr. C. Mather resolves to publish a sheet to exhort Masters to labour their Conversion. Which makes me hope that I was call'd of God to Write this Apology for them; Let his Blessing accompany the same."

[4] Of Sewall so much is generally known that a biographical sketch of him here would be superfluous. But as Saffin is not so celebrated, it may be proper to say that he was born about 1634 (depositions, Suffolk Probate Records, vi. 356) of an old English arms-bearing family of Wolf-Heriston (Woolverston) in the County of Somerset, and that at one time he owned lands in Bicester in Oxfordshire (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1891, xlv. 42). He appeared in Scituate about 1645–1647 (Middlesex Court Files and N. E. H. G. Reg., 1877, xxxi. 115), and removed thence to Virginia in 1654, where he remained a few

in which the latter in his published reply to Sewall not only undertook to defend the institution of slavery, but to vindicate his conduct toward his slave Adam.

Saffin's pamphlet appeared with a long title, the leading lines of which were, "A Brief and Candid Answer to a late Printed Sheet entituled, The Selling of Joseph," etc.[1]

years (deposition of Lieut.-Col. Samuel Smith and others in Saffin *v.* Green, Middlesex County Court Files, 29 Dec., 1657), and returning married Martha, daughter of Capt. Thomas Willett, at Plymouth, 2 Dec., 1658 (Plymouth Colony Records, viii. 22). After this marriage he removed to Boston, where he appears to have been a successful merchant, and engaged for a time, with other Boston merchants, in the clandestine importation of negroes from Guinea (N. E. H. G. Reg., 1877, xxxi. 75, 76). His wife, with two of her children, died of the small-pox in 1678; and in 1680 he married Elizabeth, widow of Peter Lidget. She died 1 Nov., 1687, and he married for his third wife Rebecca, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Lee and sister of Cotton Mather's third wife. This last union proved an unhappy one, and ended in a separation shortly before his death, which induced Mather to volunteer as peacemaker in a remarkable letter to Saffin printed in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 137–139. He was chosen a deputy to the General Court, from Boston, and was the last speaker of the Colonial House of Representatives. Some time between 1687 and 1689 he removed to Bristol, where he had previously held land (he being one of the company of purchasers of Mount Hope) and had been engaged in business. He represented Bristol in the General Court of Plymouth in the latter year, and served on important committees. Upon the union of the colonies in 1692, he was appointed the first justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Bristol County, and from 1693 to 1699 inclusive he was also annually elected councillor. He was again elected to the Council in 1703, but negatived by Dudley. He seems to have been a man of extraordinary force and ability. His reply to Sewall contains all the most cogent arguments that have been since put forth in defence of slavery, and shows the writer to have been a skilful polemic and not unfamiliar with literature.

He had the misfortune to survive his eight sons, the last of whom, according to Sewall (Diary, i. 192), was buried 15 Oct., 1687, about the time that tidings arrived from London of the death of another son, Thomas. The latter, "much favored of his prince," died of the small-pox at the age of twenty-three, and was buried in the churchyard of Saint Dunstan's, Stepney. His curious epitaph is given by Henley in No. 518 of the "Spectator," — his name being disguised as "Thomas Snapper" or "Sapper." Lysons, in his "Environs of London," gives what appears to be a more exact version of the lines on his tomb which, he says (Second Edition, ii. 686 *), was restored by "his countrymen" in 1750.

Saffin died in Boston, 28 July, 1710. This is contrary to the opinion generally entertained upon the authority of the editor of the Hutchinson Papers (in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 139), who says that he died at Bristol. Savage fails to remove the doubt by stating that he died "at B." — which may mean either Bristol or Boston. The circumstance that Sewall records his death the next morning and makes the further entry that Mr. Pemberton of the Old South in Boston was at the bedside of the dying man, leaves little doubt as to the fact, which is fully established

[1] This title will be given in full, further on in this essay.

Although the text of this rarest of rare tracts was given to the public by the late learned George H. Moore, LL. D., in his Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, he failed to include the appendix.[1] The reason for this omission can only be surmised. It may have been the inability to determine how much that was important was lost with the missing pages, and the hope of supplying the lost portions by the discovery of a perfect copy. Or, what is more likely, the narrative containing obscurities to which there was no known key, an attempt to elucidate it might have seemed impracticable, or so difficult as not to be justified by the probable importance of the subject. I am not aware that it has ever been reprinted. My purpose now is to offer it for publication in the Transactions of this Society. I have reason to believe, and I think it will presently appear, that it is substantially complete. With it I offer such extracts from the records of the Provincial Courts[2] as

by the declaration of his executors in their probate account (Suffolk Probate Files, Case No. 3264).

Besides his homestead and farm lands in Bristol County and another estate on Mill Creek in Boston, in the triangle now formed by Union, Blackstone, and Hanover Streets, and a wharf and land at the Town Dock, he had a mansion-house, outbuildings, and an enclosed pasture on the site of the present American House, and here undoubtedly he died. That his inventory, filed by his executors, shows no real estate is probably owing to the fact that upon his marriage with Elizabeth Lidget he settled upon her by way of jointure for her life after his decease, his mansion-house, yard, garden, and pasture-field adjoining, etc., and also his land and wharf upon the town dock with a new warehouse thereon then building; and charged his feoffees upon the decease of himself and his wife to convey the same to his heirs-at-law (Suffolk Deeds, xii. 159). The estate on the Mill Creek he had conveyed to John Hull, 28 April, 1680 (*Ibid.* xii. 175). This afterwards came into the possession of Samuel Sewall, who married Hull's only daughter. In 1708 Sewall built a malthouse there. (Cf. Letter to Saffin 27 Sept. 1708, in Sewall's Letter Book, i. 373, and his Diary, ii. 242.)

For the identification of the localities above described I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Henry H. Edes. The mansion-house estate he has traced back probably to the original allotment to Governor Leverett which certainly included the estate adjoining on the east. It was here, possibly in the same house, that Dr. Joseph Warren resided at the time of his death at Bunker Hill.

[1] When used by Dr. Moore, Saffin's pamphlet was in the possession of the late George Brinley, at the sale of whose library it was catalogued as No. 853 of Part I. I am under great obligation to Wilberforce Eames, Esq., Librarian of the Lenox Library, for procuring for me the privilege of copying both the pamphlet and the appendix.

[2] These extracts were made to be used in preparing a note explanatory of the resolve of the General Court which appears later on in this article, and which constitutes Chapter 8, of the resolves for the year 1703–4 in the forthcoming eighth volume of the Province Laws.

are necessary fully to elucidate Saffin's version of the relations between him and his servant. At the same time I propose to give a sufficiently clear account of the legal proceedings which resulted in Adam's emancipation. These proceedings are rendered more interesting by the view they afford of a leaning in favor of liberty on the part of the highest judicial court of the Province, and of the flexibility of the common law, as administered by this tribunal, in adapting old, or providing new and peculiar, remedies in extraordinary emergencies.

The contention between Saffin and his negro slave grew out of the following instrument: —

Bee it known unto all men by these presents That I John Saffin of Bristol in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England out of meer kindness to and for the Encouragem^t^ of my negro man Adam to go on chearfully in his Business & Imploym^t^ by me now putt into, the Custody Service and command of Thomas Shepherd my Tenant on boundfield Farm in Bristol afores^d^ for and During the Terme of Seaven years from the Twenty fifth day of March last past 1694 — fully to be compleat and Ended or as I may otherwise See cause to Imploy him. I say I doe by these presents of my own free & Voluntary Will & pleasure from and after the full end & Expiration of Seven years beginning on the Twenty fifth day of March last past and from thenceforth fully to be compleat and Ended, Enfranchise clear and make free my s^d^ negro man named Adam to be fully at his own Dispose and Liberty as other free men are or ought to be according to all true Intents & purposes whatsoever. Allways provided that the s^d^ Adam my Servant do in the mean time go on chearfully quietly and Industriously in the Lawfull Business that either my Self or my Assigns shall from time to time reasonably Sett him about or imploy him in and doe behave and abear himself as an Honest true and faithfull Servant ought to doe during the Tearm of Seven years as aforesaid In Witness whereof I the s^d^ John Saffin have hereunto sett my hand and Seal this Twenty Sixth day of June 1694 — In the Sixth year of their Ma^tys^ Reign

Signed Sealed & Deliv^d^ in the p^r^sence of

RACHEL BROWNE her marke. JOHN SAFFIN (Seal)

RICH^D^ SMITH

SAMUEL GALLOP

This Instrument abovewritten was Entred in the first book for Wills and Inventoryes page the last, November 15th 1694 — by JOHN CARY Recor^r^.[1]

[1] Suffolk Court Files.

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Saml Sewall.

From the original painting in the possession of his descendant Miss Ridgway.

This writing Adam seems to have regarded as an effectual manumission after the expiration of the seven years therein limited. Hence he felt justified, as a free man, in acting toward his former master in the independent manner which the latter in his complaint described as "turbulent, outrageous and insolent."

According to Saffin, Adam had not fulfilled the condition upon which his liberty was promised; and being at Boston, in March, 1701, and ordered by his master to meet him at Bristol, and to proceed thence to Swanzey in the service of another, to whom Saffin had engaged him, he not only refused to go, but improved the opportunity which his master's absence afforded to leave Saffin's house in Boston, furtively taking with him his clothing, and going about town at pleasure.

Saffin, upon his return, received from his former slave, instead of the deference and submission he claimed, a notice, haughtily delivered, that he must appear before Mr. Justice Sewall. Saffin accordingly waited upon the judge, whom he found in conference with Mr. Secretary Addington. Sewall severely animadverted on his conduct, and produced the deed of manumission. The due execution of this instrument Saffin acknowledged; upon which the two magistrates concurred in advising him to give the negro his liberty. They intimated that Adam's performance had been substantially according to the terms stated in the instrument, which, as "liberty was a thing of great value, even next to life," should be liberally construed, especially in this case, and that a perfect compliance should not be expected, since "there was much to be allowed to the behaviour of Negroes, who are so ignorant, rude and bruitish."

Saffin, nevertheless, persisted in his determination to hold the negro; and the next day he induced Lieutenant-Colonel Penn Townsend, a member of the Council, to accompany him to Sewall's house, professing to believe that his servant could be lawfully coerced into submission by the joint determination of two magistrates. Though the magistrates did not concur with Saffin, Townsend consented to bind Adam over (he being present) to answer to a complaint for an offence the nature of which appears in the record of proceedings of the court, given below.

The next Court of Sessions for Suffolk was to be held in July, but the stated Assizes were held at Boston two months earlier; so,

in order to bring the complaint (which involved the question of Adam's enfranchisement) to a speedy issue, he was required to appear and answer at the May term of the Superior Court, and Dick, a free negro, was accepted as surety in his recognizance. Accordingly, when the court sat the complainant and respondent appeared; but though papers were read and the case debated, the matter was put over, or, as Saffin states it, "transmitted to the next Superiour Court to be held at *Bristol.*" The complaint was not entered of record; and though the reason assigned by Saffin for the court's declining to proceed with the trial was that witnesses were not present to support by their oaths the depositions they had previously made in writing, it seems more likely that the case was thought to be properly triable in Bristol County, where, if Saffin had any case, both parties were domiciled.

Between the term at Suffolk and the term at Bristol, Saffin by some means succeeded in getting promoted from the bench of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas to that of the Superior Court of Judicature;[1] and on the ninth of September he sat with his associates at the stated term in Bristol, during which upon his complaint Adam was tried at the suit of the king.

From the depositions on file it is clear that though at the trial there was conflicting testimony upon the main issue, the preponderance of evidence as to character was in Adam's favor. Some of the depositions for the complainant were mainly hearsay, and one at least was rejected by the court, probably for this reason and also because the prisoner was not present when it was taken. The complainant was allowed to put in the following document in proof of his charges against the accused: —

Bristol 12th of Janr 1699 —

Whereas I Thomas Shepherd of Bristol having hired a certain Farm of John Saffin Esqr called boundfield partly in Bristol aforsd & partly in Swansey & having had with the Stock of cattle and Sheep a certain negro man named Adam to Serve me into the bargain during the Lease Doe hereby declare that he the said negro man having been a very disobedient Turbulent outragious and unruly Servant in all respects these many years and hath carried himself so obstinately both to my Self

[1] He was nominated by a bare majority of the Council. This was after the deaths of Bellomont and Stoughton, when the Council was exercising the full executive function.

Wife & children that I cannot keep him nor bear with his evil manners any Longer and therefore request Mr Saffin his master to take him again into his custody and release me of him he the sd negro being such a Vile Refrictory fellow that I dare no longer keep him in my House, and have therefore by his sd Masters consent & permiscōn placed and hired him to Mr John Wilkins of Bristol with him to Serve dwell & abide from the day of the date hereof till the Twenty fifth day of March next. In Wittnesse whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seal this Twelfth day of January 1699 —

Signed Sealed & Delivered
in the presence of us — THOMAS SHEPHERD (and a Seal)
RICHD JENKINS
JNO ANDREWS —

Bristol ss — Memorandum — Thomas Shepherd the Subscriber to the abovementioned Instrumt personally appearing before me under written one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of Bristol this 11th of Septr 1701 and acknowledged this Instrumt to be his Act & Deed, In the Thirteenth year of his Mattys Reign —

NATHANIEL PAINE.[1]

The character of the accused as given in this paper was not only insufficiently shown by the joint deposition of Shepherd and his wife, but Wilkins, to whom Adam was bound out by Shepherd, testified to his sobriety and fidelity; and there were several other witnesses to his general good conduct. Nevertheless, the jury found him guilty. The court continued the case, under advisement, "until the next Superior Court to be holden for this county" (that is, for one year), and in the mean time remanded Adam to the custody of his master.

From Sewall's memoranda it appears that the court were in doubt on the question whether or not Saffin's interest in the issue was such as to disqualify him from sitting in the case. It would seem also, from the same authority, that besides the manifest impropriety of sitting as judge in a case in which he was so directly concerned, Saffin had been guilty of other equally grave and more insidious irregularities in the management of this case. Sewall declares that he had tampered with the foreman of the jury by whose verdict Adam was convicted, and had connived at placing upon the panel James Smith, one of his tenants; which conduct was apparently proved to the satisfaction of his associates. Saffin avers that upon his motion that judgment be entered accord-

[1] Suffolk Court Files.

ing to the verdict his brother judges assented, and agreed that he should have the custody of his negro upon his promising "not to send him out of the Country," but that the suspension of judgment for further advisement was a subsequent determination made without his privity or consent, whereupon he claimed he was released from his promise.

As soon as the form of the judgment had been finally settled, Saffin in open court ordered Adam, of whom the decree of the court had given him control, to proceed forthwith to Boston, and to resume work on Castle Island under Captain Timothy Clarke.[1] About a month later the unfortunate negro got into fresh trouble by violently resisting Captain Clarke, who, in attempting to discipline him for disobedience and incivility, knocked his pipe from his mouth, and struck him with his stick. Saffin seized upon this incident as a pretext for ordering his incorrigible servant to be transported out of the province; but this scheme failed on account of a caution given by Addington, who was consulted as to the legality of the proceeding. The Secretary, however, so far gratified Saffin as to order the commitment of Adam to answer at the Quarter Sessions for his violence. The loss of the records of the Court of Sessions leaves it doubtful what disposition the court made of this case. It is certain that the event did not interfere with the earlier proceedings instituted by Saffin.

Before the next term of the court in Bristol, Dudley had arrived with the commission of governor. Though the new governor's principles were extremely loose in regard to taking gratuities for service rendered in an executive capacity, and notwithstanding his career as chief justice in New York shows that he did not scruple to follow the worst precedents of judicial tyranny, he had never been known to excuse in a judge such offences as Saffin was charged with. Possibly this may account for the fact that Saffin was not among the judges of the Superior Court selected and commissioned by Dudley.

When the case of *Dom. Rex*[2] *v.* Adam came up for consideration by the court in September, 1702, it appearing that the negro was

[1] Clarke, in conjunction with Thomas Brattle, was appointed by the Legislature to manage the expenditures for fortifying Castle Island under the direction of her majesty's engineer, Col. Wolfgang William Römer. See Province Laws, vii. (Resolves) 1702–3, chapter 4, and note, *et passim.*

[2] After the verdict against Adam, and before this term of the Court, Queen Anne succeeded King William.

sick with the small-pox, it was again put over, — this time to the November term, in Suffolk. Sewall[1] records that the "Court were of Opinion that Adam's Freedom could not be Tryed by Mr. Saffin's complaint," — evidently upon the ground that, though the suit was brought in the name of the king, Saffin was the real party in interest, — the virtual plaintiff.

The complaint against him having thus failed, Adam, at the same term, "preferred a petition for his Enfranchisement" (which unique and interesting paper, undoubtedly prepared by Newton, has not been found), at the same time exhibiting to the court the instrument of emancipation executed by Saffin. The court thereupon assigned Thomas Newton and Joseph Hearne,[2] two of the ablest lawyers in the province, as his counsel, "in order to his Regular proceeding in the affair." The record of the case concludes: "This Court Judging it proper for the Petitioner first to be heard at the Inferiour Court of Common pleas next to be holden for this County and that the Petitioner in the meantime be in peace untill the Coming of the Justices."[3]

In compliance with this decision and intimation from the court, Adam brought suit against Saffin in the Common Pleas as follows: —

Suffolk ss Anne by the Grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland Queen Defend^r^ of the Faith &c To the Sherriff of our County of Bristoll his undersherriff or Deputy. Greeting. We Comand you that you Sumon John Saffin of Bristoll within our County of Bristoll Esqr (if he may be found in your p^r^cinct) to appeare before our Justices of our Inferiour Court of Comon Pleas to be holden at Boston within & for our sd County of Suffolk on the first Tuesday of January next then & there in our sd Court to answer to Adam negroe of Boston with in our sd County of Suffolk Labourer in a plea for that whereas the sd Adam hath Complained unto us That he being a freeman and ready to prove his liberty, the sd John Saffin claimeing him as his slave, doth vnjustly vex him: To the damage of the sd Adam negro as he saith the sum of one hundred pounds, wch shall then & there be made to appeare with other due

Seal.

[1] Diary, ii. 64.

[2] Both were among the first attorneys sworn in before the Superior Court of Judicature, 24 June, 1701. See note to No. 20 of Private Acts: Province Laws, vol. vi., now in press.

[3] Records of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1700–1714, fol. 84.

damages And have you there this writt with your doings therein Witness Elisha Hutchinson Esqr at Boston this 14th day of Decemb^{r} in First year of our Reigne *Annoq; Dom* 1702.

ADDINGTON DAVENPORT *Cler.*[1]

Upon which writ the sheriff of Bristol made the following return: —

Bristoll ss By Vertue of this Writt to me Directed on y 18th day of December 1702 I sum̃oned the abovesaid John Saffen Esqr to appear at the Day & place above mentioned as this writt Reqviers & I Left a coppi of this writt with him at his hovs in Bristoll

p^{r} SAM^{LL} GALLAP Sherriff.[2]

The record shows that this writ abated, probably because it was held that the court for Bristol County had exclusive jurisdiction of the parties. The judgment of the court was as follows: —

It is considered by the Court That ye s^{d} Sum̃ons or writ shall abate for y^{t} ye same is not regularly brought before this Court.[3]

The justices present were Elisha Hutchinson, John Foster, Penn Townsend, and Jeremiah Dummer.

From this judgment the plaintiff appealed, but the court refused[4] to allow the appeal.

Saffin, it seems, now renewed his threat to consign Adam to some one living out of the province, or who would remove him from Massachusetts; whereupon Mr. Newton invoked the protection of the Superior Court for his client in the following petition: —

To the hon^{ble} the Justices of her Maj^{ties} Superiour Court of Judicature now held at Boston for the County of Suffolk being the 8th day of May 1703.

Thomas Newton of sd Boston humbly sheweth

That whereas yor hono^{rs} at the superiour Court of Judicature held at Boston for the sd County on the first Tuesday of November now last past, upon the petition of Adam a negro, late slave to John Saffin

[1] Suffolk Court Files. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Records in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court for civil business, in the County of Suffolk.

[4] It was not judicially determined until a year later that appeals lay from judgments on pleas in bar or abatement. The decision was subsequently confirmed by statute. See notes to Resolves, 1703–4, chapters 47 and 89, Province Laws, vol. viii.

Esqr for his freedom appointed the sd Thomas Newton & Mr Joseph Hearne attorneys for the sd Adam and that in order thereunto the sd attorneys should comence an accon for him ag^{t} the sd John Saffin at the then next inferiour Court of Comon pleas to be held at Boston for the sd County for the Tryall of his liberty And the sd Thomas Newton and Joseph Hearne accordingly brought forward an accon for the sd Adam ag^{t} the sd John Saffin at the inferiour Court of Comon pleas held at Boston on the first Tuesday of January last, where the sd accon was dismissed and an appeal to this Court thereupon denyed And forasmuch as the sd Adam dayly pursues yor subscriber for the Tryall of his sd liberty the sd Adam being dayly threatned by the sd Mr Saffin, to be sent out of this province into forreigne, parts to remaine a slave during his life.

Yo^{r} subscriber humbly prays yor hono^{rs} will be pleased to take the p^{r}misses into yor Consideration, and give such further directions therein as to yor hono^{rs} shall seem meet

And yor subscriber will ever pray &c

Tho: Newton.[1]

The following is the record of the judgment or decree of the court upon this petition, all the justices being present: —

Upon Reading the Petition of Mr Thomas Newton relating to Adam negro late Slave to John Saffin Esqr That notwithstanding the former Order of this Court he is pursued by Mr Saffin as his Slave and has Endeavoured to Transport him beyond Sea. Its therefore Considered by the Court That Adam negro be in peace untill by due process of Law he be found to be a Slave.[2]

Saffin now turned to the Legislature for the remedy which he had failed to obtain in the courts. Although not chosen a deputy that year, he had contrived to secure election to the Council, but had been deprived of the opportunity to influence his associates which a seat on that Board would have afforded him, by the action of Governor Dudley, who promptly rejected him. He, however, presented the following petition: —

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr Captaine Generall & Comander in Chief in & over Her Majestys Province of the Massathussetts Bay in New England The Honble Council & Representatives Convened in the Great & Gen^{ll} Court att Boston on the Twenty sixth Day of May *Anno.* 1703 —

[1] Suffolk Court Files.

[2] Records of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1700–1714, fol. 100.

The Petition of John Saffin Esqr in all Humillity Presenteth.

As the Parliament of England is the supream Councill of the Nation, and the sovereign Remedy of all grievances, oppressions, & Male Administrations of the Greatest Peers of the Realm, and the Highest Courts of Judicature even so this great & Gen^{ll} Court or Assembly is (as yor Petition^{r} humbly conceives) an embleme or similitude of that Power Derived from the Royall Charter granted to the People of this Province for the Redressing of the grievances oppressions Male Administrations and Tort actions of the greatest Persons or Courts of Judicature subordinate to this Grand Assembly. And therefore it is, that yor humble Peti^{r} (finding no other Remedy) is Imboldned humbly to Address this great Council, & Implore their Ayd, that they would be pleased to grant him Audience in a matter wherein he is greatly Injured & oppressed; and in such a manner he presumes there hath not been the like done in New England. The thing in brief is this. Yo^{r} Peti^{r} hath a certaine Negro man named Adam that is withheld or taken from him yor Peti^{r} under countenance of authority (not collour of law) wch Negro hath sooner or later cost yor Peti^{r} above Threescore pounds. The pretended matter in Controversy hath been twice before no less than two Justices of the Peace, and at four severall Superior Courts. & continued above these two years last past, and yet is not Determined, nor doth yor Peti^{r} know when it will. in the mean time yor Peti^{r} is made a meer Vassall to his slave in being at continuall cost and charges about him to supply him with all manner of Necessarys, as Cloaths, Bedding food and Phisick, and attendance when lately he had the small pox. Allso to pay the keeper for his keeping in Prison Three Months where he was by the Quarter Sessions committed for his outrages & murtherous attempts at the Castle: generally known, (a Narrative whereof being in Print.) yet for all this the said vile Negro is at this Day set at large to goe at his pleasure, in open Defiance of me his Master in danger of my life, he haveing threatned to be Revenged of me and all them that have cross't his turbulent Humour. to the great scandall and evill example of all Negros both in Town and countrey whose eyes are upon this wretched Negro to see the Issue of these his exorbitant practices.

The Premisses Considered yor Peti^{r} doth humbly Implore this Honble Assembly to grant Redress by vouchsafeing yor Peti^{r} a hearing either before this Honble Assembly or by a Coñittee as in yor wisdomes you shall Deeme most convenient, the various Circumstances of those Transactions being so large as to exceed the limitts of A petition in writeing; And allso that upon the understanding the Justice of yor Peti^{rs} Cause yor Hon^{rs} will be pleased to doe him Right in all

Respects, by Restoreing his said Negro to yor Peti^r that as an English subject he may Dispose of his said Negro, as he shall see cause for his own safty, and all other of her Majestys good subjects that may be exposed to any Detriment by the sd Negros villainous practices.

And yor Petion^r as in Duty bound shall Pray &c.

JOHN SAFFIN.[1]

This petition was read in the House on the first of June. It was read again on the third. Whereupon the proceedings set forth in the following extracts from the legislative records of the Council and from the State Archives took place: —

A PETITION of John Saffin, Esqr; relating to a certain negroe man named Adam, that is withheld or taken from him under countenance of authority not colour of law, as insinuated in the said petition, sent up from the representatives with the act of that house thereon; viz., —

Ordered — That the Petitioner have a Hearing before this Court, on the 2^d Wednesday of the next session.

Sent up for Concurrence. — JAM^S CONVERSE *Speaker*, —

In Council — June 3^d 1703. Read and not agreed to, — and *ordered* That the matter be heard before the next Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Suffolk.[2]

IS^A ADDINGTON, *Secry*. —

In the House of Representatives June 3rd 1703,

Read and Agreed. JAM^S CONVERSE *Speaker* —

When the petition was before the Council, Newton appeared in behalf of Adam,[3] and entered the following plea: —

The s^d Adam Negro pleads that he oweth the s^d John Saffin no Service but is free by Vertue of an Instrum^t under the hand and Seal of the s^d John Saffin. THO^S NEWTON ℔ Adam negro.[4]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, ix. 152.

[2] To be held on the first Tuesday of July following.

[3] Sewall, whose sympathies continued strong for the negro, indignantly minuted in his Diary (ii. 79), under date of 8 June, 1703, the following: —

"Adam is again imprison'd to be Tryed at Suffolk Sessions. Trial order'd by the Genl Assembly.

Superanuated Squier, wigg'd and powder'd with pretence,
Much beguiles the just Assembly by his lying Impudence.
None being by, his $\frac{\text{bold}}{\text{sworn}}$ Attorneys push it on with might and main
By which means poor simple Adam sinks to slavery again."

From which verse it appears that, in the honest judge's eyes, Saffin's offence had been greatly aggravated by his wearing a periwig — the good judge's particular abomination.

[4] Suffolk Court Files.

At the Court of Sessions held by adjournment in Suffolk in August the case was tried, as ordered by the Assembly, and Adam was again convicted, and once more appealed, as shown by the following copy of the record: —

Suffolk ss *Anno Regni Reginæ Annæ nunc Angliæ &c / Secundo* —.
At an adjournment of a Court of General Sessions of the Peace held at Boston for the County of Suffolke on the third day of August *Anno Domini* One Thousand Seven hundred and three —

. . . . . .

Adam negro's Tryall

Whereas John Saffin Esqr by his Petition to the Great and General Court or Assembly for Her Maj^tys^ Province of the Massachusetts Bay held at Boston upon the Twenty sixth day of May last, did Insinuate that a certain negro man named Adam is withheld or taken from him &c^a^/ upon which he obtained an order of the s^d^ Great & General Court that the matter be heard before the next Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the County of Suffolk — In Pursuance whereof the s^d^ John Saffin & the s^d^ Adam negro now appeared, and the s^d^ Adam by Thomas Newton his attorney pleaded that he oweth the s^d^ John Saffin no service butt is free by virtue of an Instrument under the hand and seal of the s^d^ John Saffin; and the allegations of both partyes being fully heard the matter was committed to the Jury who were sworn to try the same and returned their verdict therein upon oath, That is to say — they find that the s^d^ Adam negro hath not performed the condition for which he was to be Enfranchized & therefore is to continue a servant to his s^d^ Master. It's therefore considered by the court That the s^d^ Adam negro hath not performed the condition for which he was to be Enfranchized and therefore is to continue a servant to his s^d^ Master; The s^d^ Adam by his afores^d^ Attorney appealed from this Judgment or sentance unto the next Court of Assize and General Goal delivery to be holden for this county and Entred into Recognizance with sufficient suretyes for his appearance and prosecuting his Appeal there with Effect and for the abiding and performing the order or sentance of the s^d^ court; and for his good behaviour in the mean time.[1]

The defendant's reasons of appeal, prepared by Adam's attorney and given below, sufficiently show the course of the proceedings and the grounds upon which he based his claim to freedom: —

Suffolk ss The Reasons of appeale of Adam negro appell^t^ ag^t^ John Saffin of Bristoll in the County of Bristol Esqr Defend^t^ from the

[1] Records of the Court of Sessions, in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for the Commonwealth.

Judgm^{t} or Sentence of her Maj^{ties} Justices of her Maj^{ties} Court of generall Sessions of the peace held at Boston for the County of Suffolk on the first Tuesday of August 1703, by adjournm^{t} from the first Tuesday of July foregoing. To the hon^{ble} Justices of her Maj^{ties} Court of Assize and generall Gaol Delivery to be held at Boston for the s^{d} County of Suffolk on the first Tuesday of November 1703.

That whereas at the s^{d} Court of generall Sessions of the peace, the sd appell^{t} had a tryall for his freedom & Claimed the same by vertue of an Instrum^{t} under the hand & seal of the Defend^{t} bearing date the 26th day of June 1694. Yet sentence was given ag^{t} him, wch is wrong & erronious and ought to be reversed for the reasons following, vizt

1° That whereas at the sd Court of generall Sessions of the peace sentence was given for the Defend^{t} ag. the appell^{t} when by Law the same ought to have been rendred for the appell^{t} ag^{t} the Defend^{t}

2° That it is evident, that the appell^{t} served the Defend^{t} faithfully & honestly during the Term of seven years from the 25th day of March 1694. and ought to have his freedom & liberty pursuant to the Instrum^{t} abovemencōned.

3° That there is no penalty in the sd Instrum^{t} if the appell^{t} did not serve the Defend^{t} faithfully during the abovesd Term of seven years, nor doth he thereby forfeit his freedom or liberty given him for that there is no provisoe or Condicōn in the sd Instrum. that if the sd appell^{t} did not faithfully serve the Defend^{t} & his assignes during the sd Term, then he should forfeit the freedom or liberty thereby intended and the word provided mencōned in the sd Instrum^{t} is a consideracōn and not a Condition, and the Enffranchisem^{t} is positive & not conditionall and liberty being a priviledge the greatest that can be given to any man save his life, it ought not to be forfeited upon trivial and frivolous matters as is p^{r}tended by the Defend^{t} all wch matters & things (with what further may be alledged by the Defend^{t}) being duely weighed & considered by the hono^{red} Court and the Gent^{n} of the Jury, the appell^{t} hopes they will see good reason to Reverse the former sentence and give him his freedom.

Tho: Newton attorney for the appell^{t} .[1]

The above reasons were received into the clerk's office 26 October, 1703, and were argued at the term begun on the second of November, at which term, by the verdict of the jury and the judgment of the court, Adam secured his liberty. The record is as follows: —

[1] Suffolk Court Files.

Suffolk ss. *Anno Regni Reginæ Annæ nunc Angliæ &c Secundo*.

At her Majestys Superiour Court of Judicature, Court of Assize & General Goal Delivery, Begun & held at Boston, within & for the County of Suffolk on Tuesday the second of November. 1703.

By the Hono^le^ Samuell Sewall Esqr
John Hawthorne Esqr
John Walley. Esqr and
John Leverett Esqr
} Justices.

. . . . . .

Adam *us* Saffin Esqr

Adam negro Appellt *us* John Saffin Esqr Appellee. from a Judgment or sentence of a Court of General Sessions of the Peace held at Boston by adjournment on the Third day of August 1703. for that whereas the s^d^ John Saffin by his Petition to the Great and General Court or Assembly for Her Majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay held at Boston upon the 26th day of May last did Insinuate that the s^d^ Adam is withheld or taken from him &c Upon which he obtained an Order of s^d^ Court that the matter should be heard before the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the County of Suffolk. At which s^d^ Court Judgment was rendered that the s^d^ Adam negro had not performed the Condition for which he was to be Enfranchised & therefore to Continue a servant to his s^d^ master. Both Parties now appearing. The Judgment of s^d^ Court Reasons of appeal & all things touching the same being fully heard the whole was Committed to the Jury, who were sworne to try the same & Returned their verdict therein upon Oath That is to say They find for the appellt Revertion of the former Judgment & Cost of suits. Its therefore Considered by the Court That the s^d^ Adam & his heirs be at peace & quiet & free with all their Chattles from the s^d^ John Saffin Esqr & his heirs for Ever.[1]

After this there was little hope for Saffin of gaining his ends. Still he resolutely presented his grievances to the Legislature at the third session, in the following petition: —

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr Govern^r^ Capt Gen^ll^ and Comander^r^ in Chief in & over Her Maties Province of the Massethusetts Bay in New England &c. the Honble Council & House of Representatives Now Assembled Novem^br^ 15th 1703

The Petition of John Saffin Esqr most humbly Sheweth

That there is a certaine Negro man Named Adam Servant to yor Petition^r^ who hath by his vile behaviour Expos'd yor Peti^r^ to very much trouble and Charge above two years & half last past haveing been at no less than five Superio^r^ Courts, & two Inferio^r^ Courts seeking to

[1] Records of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1700–1714, fol. 114.

Obteine his freedom under the pretence of A writeing under the hand of yor Peti^{r} when he lett his farme at Bristol to Thomas Shepard with the said Negro, knowing him to be a Desperate Dangerous Villaine, and of a Turbulent humour I Endeavored to Oblige him to his Duty, and thereupon promised his freedome under my hand att the End of the Terme upon the Conditions in the words following Viz^{tt} allways Provided that the said Adam my Servant Doe in the meane time goe on Chearfully quietly & Industriously in the lawfull Business that Either my Self or my Assigns shall from time to time Reasonably sett him abovt or Imploy him in, And Doe behave & abare himself as an honiest true and faithfull Servant Ought to doe Dureing the Terme of Seven years as aforesaid. Now may it please yor Excellency and this Honble Assembly the said Negro hath in no wise performed the Conditions on wch he was to be free But on the Contrary hath behaved him self Turbulently Neglegently Insolently and Outragiously both to yor Peti^{r} and his Tenant Thomas Shepard his wife and family, and Others where yor Peti^{r} hath placed him, So that he hath had no Profitt but loss by him said Negro these Eight Years and upward but was faine to abate the said Tenant of his Rent for that cause, and in the mean time yor Peti^{r} hath been at continued great cost and Charges abovt the said Negro to this Day in provideing him Cloaths Bedding Phisick Attendance and all manner of Necessarys when he was lately sick of the Small Pox besides abovt Six pounds payed the keeper of the Prison for Charges when he said Negro was Co$\bar{m}$itted by the Court upon the Complaint of Capt Timothy Clark of the said Negro's outrage at the Castle in great Danger of the said Capt Clarks life wch was proved upon oath. Allso the said Negro hath often times Threatned to kill yor Peti^{r} and lately told Mr Willard the keeper of the Prison that if he had Oppertunity he would make no more to Twist or wring off the Neck of yor Peti^{r} then he would of a Snake all wch is upon Oath and more to the same Effect —

The Premisses Considered yor Petition^{r} Doth humbly Implore this Honble Assembly to grant Releif, and that he may have liberty to Review the Action and Judgment the said Negro hath lately Obtained for his freedome at this last Superio^{r} Court at Boston (Notwithstanding he was cast at two Courts before) And that according to yor wisdomes some Effectual Order may be given that the said Negro may bee in safe Custody, and not goe at large at his pleasure, that the Person of yor Petition^{r} may under God, be in safty & secured from the Danger of his life threatned by that Notorious Villaine & allso that yor Peti^{r} may be Reimbursed the Charges he hath been att abovt the said Negro upon all Occasions as aforesaid And Yo^{r} Petition^{r} shall Pray &c.

Jno Saffin.[1]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, ix. 153.

This petition was read in the House on the fifteenth, and on the nineteenth the representatives passed an order "that the petitioner have a review at the next Superior Court held at Boston and in the mean time the negro be of bonds with sureties for the peace and good behavior," which order was sent to the Council for concurrence. On the first of December, this petition and order being read in the Council, it was "not concurred" in, but the Council voted that "the petitioner is referred to the law."

That Saffin found no further satisfaction is evident from the following entry in the Records of the Selectmen of Boston,[1] which shows that as late as 18 June, 1711, Adam was recognized as free by the town authorities: —

At a meeting of ye Sel. men June y 18th [1711.]

. . . . . .

Pursuant to the Law of this Province Intitulled An Act for Regulating of Free Negro^s^ &c

The S^d^ Sel. men do order and Require the Free Negroes of this Town hereafter named each one of them to give their Attendance, faithfully & dilligently to worke on cleansing & Repaireing the High wayes and other Services of this Towne, at Such time & place as the Select men, or Such person or persons whom they Shall imploy therein Shall direct and order, for the Space of So many dayes as is here after Set down against each of their names respectively vizt for this present year.

Adam Saffin . . . 3 dayes."

His name is second in the list, but several others followed. The name occurs again, in town affairs, upon a paper signed probably *for* him and four other negroes, in which they offer to be bound for Madam Leblond, a negro woman, to save the town from being chargeable in case of her "sickness or any disaster." This offer was rejected by the Selectmen[2] 23 March, 1713–14.

The following are the titlepage of Saffin's pamphlet and the appended narrative.[3] The lines in the title and in the caption of the narrative, and the enumeration of the pages in the last, conform to the original.

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Report, No. 11, Selectmen's Records, 1701–1715, p. 137.

[2] See New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxi. 115, where the name is misprinted *Laffin*.

[3] The Narrative begins near the bottom of the fifth page of the pamphlet.

A

Brief and Candid Anſwer to a late Printed Sheet, *Entituled*,

The Selling of JOSEPH

Whereunto is annexed,

A True and Particuiar Narrative by way of Vindication of the Author's Dealing with and Proſecution of his Negro Man ſervant for his vile and exorbitant Behaviour towards his Maſter, and his Tenant *Thomas. Shepard*; which hath been wrongfully Repreſented to their Pejudice and Defamation.

By *John Saffin*, Eſqr.

Boston: Printed in the Year 1701.

A

Brief and Candid Anſwer to a late Printed Sheet, *Entituled,*

The Selling of JOSEPH

Whereunto is annexed,

A True and Particular Narrative by way of Vindication of the Author's Dealing with and Proſecution of his Negro Man ſervant for his vile and exorbitant Behaviour towards his Maſter, and his Tenant *Thomas. Shepard;* which hath been wrongfully Repreſented to their Pejudice and Defamation.

By *John Saffin*, Eſqr.

Boston: Printed in the Year 1701.

A true and particular Narrative by way of Vindication of the Authors dealing with, and proſecution of his Negro Man ſervant, for his vile and exorbitant Behaviour towards his Maſter, and his Tenant, *Thomas Shepard, &c.*

WHereas *there hath been divers false Reports raised, which hath occasioned misunderstandings among good people concerning a Negro man, that goes by the name of* Adam, *Servant to me* John Saffin; *whereby some evil affected and prejudiced persons have taken occasion by false suggestions to blast my Name; and render me infamous in reference unto the said Negro, intimating that I having promised the said Negro to give him his freedom after the expiration of such a term of years, and that in order thereunto I had given it under my hand and seal. But after the expiration of the said term, I had violated my promise, and without cause, endeavoured unjustly to conti-*

[* 6] * *nue the said Negro a Bond man still,* &c. *These things being falsely suggested* Doeg-*like, partly true, and partly false (perverting the truth, and turning it into a lye) I have been advised by some Christian friends (agreeable to my own inclination) to set forth the truth of the matter, which for the most part is founded upon, and proved by Evidence upon Oath, and the Records of Courts, and not by my own bare assertion, which I doubt not, but that all unbiassed persons will take notice of it for the clearing of my innocence therein, and the vindication of my Reputation, which at all times I valued above my Estate, which through the goodness of God (though not great, yet hath been competent.*

Hence it followeth.

That in the Year 1693 I Let a certain Farm Scituate at the Head of *Mount Hope* Neck, adjoyning to the Town of *Swansey*, called *Boundfield*, together with a Stock of Cattel, and Sheep with this Negro called *Adam*, unto one *Thomas Shepard*, Junior, late of *Charlstown*, for the Terms of Seven years; and knowing the said Negro to be of a proud, insolent and domineering spirit, yet had a cunning serpentine Genious, I thought to work upon his natural Reason; and for his own benefit (if it were possible) to oblige him to obedience, and to go on chearfully, quietly and industriously in his Business, for the mutual benefit of both Landlord and Tenant; and for his encouragement therein, I promised him his Freedom, and to that end, did voluntarily give him it under my Hand and Seal, upon the Conditions therein mentioned.

After which the said Negro about two years carried himself indifferently well, being able (if he list) to do Husbandry work as well as most Negroes, yet he was often very Lazie and Remiss, would favour himself, and (when he could) would sliely make others bear the weight of the work. His Master *Shepard* like wise for his encouragement let him have a piece of rich ground to plant Tobacco in, by which he said Negro made (as I am informed) above *Three Pounds* a year, besides his own use: his said Master also set him at his Table to eat with himself, his Wife & Children, (for which indeed I have blam'd him.) Notwithstanding for all this kindness and indulgence towards this wretched Negro, he grew so intollerably insolent, quarrelsome and outragious, that the Earth could not bear his rudeness; and this not for a fit of distemper now and then, perhaps that might have been born with; but his general deportment and usual carriage was so vexatious and grievous to the Family, contesting with his Master and his Wife, and beating his Children, with other exorbitant practices, too tedious to be mentioned: So that his Master *Shepard* long before the Expira-

tion of the Term aforesaid, did earnestly intreat me to take the said Negro away, and otherwise to dispose of him, for he was so proud and surlie that he scarce dare speak to him (as he told me) to ask him where he had been, or why he staid so long, *&c.* much more to strike him, for fear he should do him or his Children some mischief; [*7] Though (said he) I could beat him, and *lay him at my foot, yet considering that saying, *That he that doth not value his own life, can command anothers* I suffered that by this vile Negro, that I would not have done by my Brother; thus and to the same effect the said *Shepard* told me: till at last, a year before the said Term was out, I was fain to take the said Negro from *Shepard*, and for the present, dispose of him as I could, sometimes to one man, and then to another, to work for his Victuals; a while after I had him to *Boston*, where he had nothing to do but to work in the Garden, make Fires and the like, was kindly used, did eat of the same as the English Servants did, yet then he was so quarrelsome and contentious, calling the Maids vile names, and threatning them (as they said) that they were sometimes afraid to be in the Room with him; and both my Wife and my Sister *George*, have often desired me to turn him the said Negro out of the house, for they could not indure his pertinacy. So in the beginning of *March* last, I order'd the said Negro to go up to *Bristol*, (where I was going my self) and had agreed with a man of *Swansey* to set him a work, but he absolutely refused, and would not go; but after I was gone, he took his Cloaths out of the house by stealth, and went about the Town at his pleasure; which said actions of his at *Boston*, had there been no other, was enough to forfeit his freedom. So some time after I came home from *Bristol*, this Villain came to me in a sawcy and surly manner, and told me that I must go to Captain *Sewall*, he would speak with me at his House; I guess'd what the matter was, and soon after I obey'd this Negromantick Summons, and went to know what Captain *Sewall* had to say to me (where was Mr. *Isaac Addington*) who falling into a discourse about the said Negro, he produced a Writing he said I had given the Negro under my Hand for his Freedom, I pray'd Captain *Sewall* to let me see it; No Sir (said he) 'tis committed to me on trust, why said I, I will give it to you again, *&c.* Well then, said Captain *Sewall*, you own this to be your Hand: Yes, yes, said I, I shall not deny my hand on any account; upon which he did very gravely admonish me, saying, that since I had given such a thing under my Hand and Seal, I ought to stand to it, and perform it; adding, that Liberty was a thing of great value, even next to life; to which I replied, that if the Negro had in any wise performed the Condition, I should not have made a word about it, to which Mr.

Addington answered, that there was much to be allowed to the behaviour of Negroes, who are so ignorant, rude and bruitish, and therefore to be considered as Negroes; that I having given such a thing under my hand, it would seem to be unjust if I Receded from it, with many words to the same effect, that passed between both these Gentlemen to me; to which I replied, that the said Negro had not carried in any sort answerable to what might have been justly expected from him, had there been no such encouragement given him; as for small faults I should have winkt at them, but he having behaved himself so diametrically contrary to those Conditions, it was intollerable and not to be born with: and I would ask any indifferent person what [*8] obligation lay upon *me to give him his Freedom, if it were not for the consideration aforesaid, and all the men in the Country are as much obliged to set their Negroes free as I am: and if he (as you say) acts but as a Negro, he must be a Negro still for ought I know, *&c.* This is the summe of what then passed, and so we parted without any thing concluded on. Soon after, the next day (as I take it) I requested Lieutenant Colonel *Townsend* to go with me to Captain *Sewall*, deeming it within the Cogniscance of two Justices of the Peace to determine such a matter, *viz.* Whether the said Negro having so egregiously broken the Condition aforesaid should be free, that they might soon put an end to the business, but they were of another opinion, that it was beyond their power; in fine, it was concluded, that Lieutenant Colonel *Townsend* should bind the said Negro over (being there present, with another Negro said to be free, named *Dick* to be his Surety) to answer at the next Superiour Court to be held at *Boston* (which was about two months sooner than that of the Quarter Sessions) so when the Superiour Court Conven'd, both parties appeared, and the Declaration I had given in by way of complaint, and also the Writing that I had given the Negro, were both Read, and also the Evidences I produced, to prove the Negro had often broken the Conditions were also Read; much discourse there was about it, at last it was concluded, that seeing the Witnesses Sworn, were not there present *Vive voce*, that the matter should be transmitted to the next Superiour Court to be held at *Bristol*, which was above nine weeks after; in the mean time this Rascally Negro went about the Town swaggering at his pleasure in defiance of me his Master. Well, at the Court of *Bristol* the Negro appeared, where the matter came upon Tryal, whether the Negro should be free or not, and that he might have all benefits of Law as an English man: A Jury was Sworn, and my said Declaration Read, and the Writing I had given the said Negro under my hand was also Read, which is as followeth.

BE it Known unto all men by these Presents, That I *John Saffin* of *Bristol*, in the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New-England*, out of meer kindness to, and for the encouragement of my Negro Man *Adam*, to go on chearfully in his business and imployment by me now put into the Custody, Service and Command of *Thomas Shepard* my Tenant, on *Boundfield* Farm in *Bristol* aforesaid, for and during the term of Seven years, from the Twenty fifth day of *March* last past, 1694. Fully to be compleated and ended, or as I may otherwise see cause to imploy him: I say, I do by these presents, of my own free and voluntary will and pleasure, from and after the full end and expiration of seven years, beginning on the Twenty fifth day of *March* last past, and from thence forth fully to be compleat and ended, on franchise, clear and make free my said Negro man named *Adam*, to be fully at his own dispose and liberty as other Freemen are or ought to be, according to all true intents and purposes whatsoever.

[*9] *Always Provided that the said* Adam *my Servant do in the* * *mean time go on chearfully, quietly and industriously in the lawful business that either my self or my Assigns shall from time to time reasonably set him about or imploy him in, and do behave and abare himself as an honest, true and faithful Servant ought to do, during the term of Seven years as aforesaid.* In Witness whereof, I the said *John Saffin* have hereunto set my hand this Twenty sixth day of *June*, 1694. In the Sixth Year of Their Majesties Reign.

John Saffin and a Seal.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of

Richard Smith, *Samuel Gallop*, *Rachel Brown* ꝑ her mark.

This Instrument above written was Entred in the first Book for Wills and Instruments, page last *Nov.* 15. 1694. By *John Cary*, Recorder. *Boston*, *June* 25. 1701. *John Saffin* above nam'd personally appearing in the Superiour Court of Judicature, acknowledged the above written to be his Act and Deed.

A true Copy instead of the Original, Examined by *Elisha Cooke*, Clerk.

And the Witnesses there *Vive voce* were Examined upon Oath, concerning the wicked behaviour of the said Negro, which are here also inserted to prove the Charge.

Bristol January 12*th.* 1699.

WHereas I *Thomas Shepard* of *Bristol* having hired a certain Farm of *John Saffin* Esq. called *Bound-field*, partly in *Bristol* aforesaid, and partly in *Swansey*, and having had with the Stock of Cattle and Sheep, a certain Negro man named *Adam* to serve me into the

bargain during the Lease, do hereby declare that he the said Negro man, having been a very disobedient, turbulent, outragious and unruly Servant in all respects these many years, and hath carried himself so obstinately both to my self, Wife & Children, that I cannot keep him nor bear with his evil manners any longer; and therefore request Mr. *Saffin* his Master to take him again into his Custody and Release me of him; he the said Negro being such a vile Refractory fellow that I dare no longer keep him in my house, and have therefore by his said Masters consent and permission placed and hired him to Mr. *John Wilkins* of *Bristol*, with him to serve, dwell and abide from the day of the date hereof till the Twenty-fifth day of *March* next. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal this Twelfth day of *January*, 1699. *Thomas Shepard* and a Seal.

Signed, Sealed & delivered in presence of us, *Richard Jenkins*, *John Andrews*.

Bristol ss MEmorandum, *Thomas Shepard the Subscriber to the above mentioned Instrument, personally appearing before me under-written, one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of* Bristol *this* 11*th of* September 1701. *and acknowledged this Instrument to be his act & deed. In the Thirteenth year of His Majesties Reign* *Nath. Paine.*

A true Copy of that on file, Examined by *Elisha Cooke* Clerk

JOshua *Finney* of lawful age Testifieth & saith, That I this Deponent dwelling not far from Mr. *Saffin's* Farme at *Bristol*-gate where *Thomas Shepard* was several years Tenant, with whom a Negro man named *Adam* that was said to be Mr. *Saffins* Negro dwelt, who came from the Mill as I understood for *Thomas Shepard*, asked him whether he had grouud or had Meal, he said no; why then said *Shepard* did you not come sooner, upon which said Negro came up with his hand to *Shepards* face as if he would have struck him and Jabbar'd, but I could not tell what he said, but it seem'd to me [*10] as if he challenged said *Shepard* or threatned *him, this he did two or three times that evening in my sight about two years agoe, and further saith not. *Bristol April* the 9*th.* 1701. *Then the above said* Joshua Finney *took his Oath to the truth of the abovesaid, the Negro not being present.*

Coram JOHN BROWN *Justice.*

Bristol Septemb. 11*th.* 1701. Sworn to in the Superiour Court of Judicature.

A true Copy of that on file, Examined by *Elisha Cooke* Clerk.

B*Enjamin Rice* of the Town of *Sudbury* in the County of *Middlesex*, being of lawful age, Testifieth and saith, That I this Deponent Residing in the Family of *Thomas Shepard* of *Bristol*, in the County of *Bristol*, about five Weeks in the year 1699 In which time, and at divers times in the time, *Adam* a Negro man of *John Saffin* Esq. of *Bristol*, which lived with *Thomas Shepard*, did carry and behave himself very ill and untowardly in the Family, by quarreling and beating the Children, and other wayes, and in particular one time the said Negro (did with an Ax) in Anger and Rage run up to and endeavour to strike the said *Thomas Shepard* therewith, and at another time, he ran at the said *Thomas* with a Pitch-fork, as said *Shepard* told me, and his Family, and further saith not.

April 11*th*. 1701 *Then in* Bristol Benjamin Rice (*the Negro not being present*) *took his Oath to the abovesaid*, *before* John Brown *Justice*.

A true Copy of that on file, Examined by *Elisha Cooke* Clerk.

Bristol March 24*th* 1701.

T*Homas Shepard* and *Hannah* his Wife both of lawful Age, doth Testify and say, That we sometime about the year 1693. hired a Farm in *Bristol* of the Honoured Mr. *Saffin*, and a stock of Cattle and Sheep, and also one Negro man named *Adam*, which we were to have and to hold for the term of Seven years, but the aforesaid Negro man carryed and behaved himself so basely, disobediently and outragiously, both in words and in actions, that so in some of his mad fits (which were many) I was in fear of some bodily mischief from him; for one night according to my best apprehension, he drew his Knife at me, so that I was glad to deliver him up to his former Master again, the Honoured Mr. *Saffin* before the time was out. The said *Hannah* Testifies, That she see the said Knife in the said Negros hand, and see him take up an Ax, speaking to her Husband to Cut off his head.

Sworn before me Nath. Paine *one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of* Bristol, *the day and year above written*

Nath. Paine.

Bristol Sept. 11*th*. 1701. Sworn to in the Superiour Court of Judicature by *Thomas Shepard*.

A true Copy of that on file, Examined by *Elisha Cooke* Clerk.

S*Arah Shepard* being of lawful age, Testifieth and saith, when her Father set her to lead the Horse at Plow, and *Adam* Negro man that he had of the Honoured Mr. *Saffin*, that he said *Adam* did give me ill words, and strike me in the time of his Service with my Father, and many times made a disturbance in the House with ill words, and

was very disobedient to my Mother when she spake to him for to do any thing, as the laying on a Logg on the Fire or any such thing, and mock and deride at her when she did speak to him. As instance the Night before he hurt his Rist, my Mother found fault with him for not laying on a Logg right on the Fire, he in a scornful manner said, That he would the next Morning lay a Logg down by the stone sink, and when the next morning came he fell down at the same place with a Logg, and put his Rist out of Joynt, which was much to my Fathers damage, and further saith not.

Bristol Sept. 11*th.* 1701. *Sworn to in the Superiour Court of Judicature.*

A true Copy of that on file, Examined by *Elisha Cooke* Clerk.

[*11] *But the said *Shepard* being Examined in Court, upon Oath did declare the Circumstances more particularly then was in his written Testimony as it came to his memory, to the great satisfaction of the Jury, and many that heard it; so the Jury brought in their Verdict upon the whole matter that was committed to them as above-written and found the said Negro guilty, *&c.* After this as I was informed (being not present) the said Negro came and asked the Judges, how the case stood with him (or to that effect) they answered making him to understand that the Jury had Cast him, and that he was no Freeman, but must attend his Master *Saffin's* Service still; the next day I came into the Court, & prayed that Judgment might be Entred up, that I might dispose of my Negro, they told me it should be done, and upon the same, one of the Judges moved, that tho' the Negro was rendered to be my Servant still, yet that *I* would promise before the Court, not to send him out of the Country, I answered, that upon the desire of the Court I would & did there promise not to send him out of the Country, nor had I then any thoughts or intention to send him out, a while after I understood that some of the Judges did hesitate about entring up the Judgment, (as I thought was concluded) at which I admired, knowing that it was according to the positive Laws of *England*, & the constant practice of this Country, for Judgment to be Entred according to the Verdict of the Jury; upon which I again applied my self to the Court, & prayed I might know the reason why Judgment was not entered according to the usual practice of all Courts; to which I had no direct answer, but many words passed between the Judges, at last it was determined, and order was given to the Clerk to enter up Judgment in the words following.

At a Court of Assize and General Goal Delivery, holden at *Bristol* for the County of *Bristol* aforesaid, on *Tuesday* the Ninth of *September*, 1701.

ADam *Negro being Complained of by* John Saffin, *Esqr. his Master, for his turbulent, outragious and insolent Carriage towards him the said* John Saffin, *&c. (as by said Complaint more at large is set forth) appeared and pleaded not Guilty: and for Tryal put himself on God and his Country; a Jury being called, the Prisoner making no Challenges,* Joseph Kent *Foreman, and the other Eleven as in the Margent, being Sworn according to Law to try the same. The Complainants Evidence, with the Prisoners Defence being fully heard, the whole was committed to the Jury, who returned being agreed on their Verdict, and that their Foreman should speak for them, upon their Oaths in open Court do say, that the said* Adam *is guilty. The Court do advise, until next Superiour Court to be holden for this County; and order that* Adam *Negro do Return to his Master* John Saffin Esqr. *in the mean time.*

A true Copy taken from the Minute Book,
and Examined by *Elisha Cooke*, Clerk.

Upon which I said to the Court, that since they had altered their Judgment (as I apprehended) I would withdraw my promise to [*12] the Court, and would *not be obliged thereby not to send my said Negro out of the Country; and upon the same I said to the Negro. Here I do in the presence of this Honourable Court command you to make hast to *Boston*, and then forthwith to go down to the Castle to work as you did before, till farther order from me. Notwithstanding this vile Negro after he came to *Boston*, went about the Town ten or twelve days at his pleasure before he went to the Castle. And about the sixth of *October* last, he committed another notorious outrage, which Captain *Clark* informed me by a Letter from *Castle Island*, *Octob.* 6. 1701. Upon the Receipt of which Letter, I went to Captain *Bant* on the ninth of *October* last past, and agreed with him to carry this Negro out of the Country, which I did by good advice, deeming it not safe either to Captain *Clark* or my self, that the said Negro should go at large, either in Town or Country; whereupon Captain *Bant* sent his men and Boat down to the Castle, with whom I wrote to Capt. *Clark*, and the rest of the Gentlemen there, to deliver the said Negro to them in order to his Transportation, who upon receipt of my Letter delivered him to them, but withal advised them to go to the Honourable *Isaac Addington*, Esqr. and acquaint him therewith, not doubting but (as Capt. *Clark* since told me) this Wretch Negro in regard of his late bloody attempt, should by Authority be forthwith sent aboard in order to the premises; but it proved otherwise, for Mr. *Addington* told Capt. *Bant* and my self, that he could not with safety carry the said Negro

away, *&c.* Upon which I prayed Mr. *Addington* that the said Negro might be secured, so he sent him to Goal some days after, upon the complaint of Capt. *Clark* and others. The said Negro was brought to his Tryal at an Adjournment of the Quarter Sessions held at *Boston*, where the Witnesses were Examined face to face, and are as followeth.

Castle Island, Octob. 9th. 1701.

JOhn Griffin *of full Age testifieth and saith, That on* Tuesday *the* 7th *Instant,* Adam *a Negro man being then a Labourer at the* Castle, *was removing some Earth, but did it not to Captain* Clark's *mind, who ordered him to do it otherwise, but the said Negro refused to do it according to his Order; at which Captain* Clark *said you Rascal, why don't you do it as I order you; the said Negro said he was no Rogue, no Rascal, no Thief; at which Captain* Clark *with a Stick broke his pipe, and said, you Rogue you shall do as I bid you, and gave him a push, at which said Negro gave him a push, and said, that if he struck him, he would strike him again; Captain* Clark *gave him a stroke or two with his stick; the Negro took hold of the Stick and brake it, and took up his Shovel and struck at Captain* Clark, *and had like to have spoilt him; but the other Labourers came to Captain* Clarks *assistance, and rescued him until some of the Garrison Souldiers came to help, and carried the said Negro to the Dungeon. And further, that in rescuing Captain* Clark, *the* Negro *got one of the Labourers hands in his mouth, and had like to have bit it off, but with help got it clear without much damage*

* * * * * * * *

The rest of the narrative is wanting; but by comparing what is here reprinted with the account which precedes it, and with the deposition which appears in the footnote below,[1] made by Griffin jointly with two other witnesses, it will be seen that probably no material circumstance has been omitted.

[1] The deposition referred to appears to be entire except the introductory recital of the names of the deponents, etc. It was sworn to by Griffin, 13 Oct. 1701, before Isaac Addington as justice of the peace, and by Shine and Lee on the 27th, before Addington Davenport, Clerk of the Court of Sessions for Suffolk County, and is here printed from a copy attested by Davenport, and preserved in Suffolk Court Files, No. 5173; namely, —

"[* * * * *]d William Lee al[l of f*]ull age being Imployed as Labourers in the Works on Castle Island Testifie and say that on Tuesday the Seventh of October 1701 Capt Timothy Clarke one of the Overseers of s^{d} Works, Speaking to Adam a Labourer and negro at the Castle to Direct him about his

* Manuscript mutilated.

Professor Goodwin moved that the cordial thanks of the Society be tendered Mr. Goodell for his interesting essays and his valuable and much-prized gifts, especially the Royal Commissions and the Instructions.

Mr. Goodell remarked that while he fully appreciated the kind intentions of his associates, he deemed it unwise for learned societies to adopt the custom of thanking their members for papers and addresses; and that he felt sure Professor Goodwin would agree with him that, if the motion prevailed, it might establish a troublesome precedent. Accordingly, Professor Goodwin modified his motion, and the thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Goodell for his valuable gifts.

Mr. Henry H. Edes said: —

It will be remembered that at our last meeting, in his interesting paper on Historical Work in Massachusetts, Mr. Davis remarked upon the importance of printing historical documents in full, since what may appear at one time and in one connection to be a matter of little or no importance may prove at another time to be essential to the establishment of other and entirely different facts. In the same paper, in an allusion to the Palatine Light, Mr. Davis expressed his conclusion, from a document seen by him among the

Work, the s^{d} negro Shewed himself very Surley and gave Saucy Answers to s^{d} Capt Clark refuseing to observe his Directions; Whereupon the Capt with a Small Stick which he then held in his hand struck his Tobacco-pipe out of his mouth, gave him a Shove with his hand & Struck him a blow over the Shoulders with the s^{d} Stick; the s^{d} negro in great Fury & rage Shoved the Capt again wrested the Stick out of his hand and broke it, & lifted up the Shovel wherewith he was at work and with the Iron upward offered a Stroke to the s^{d} Capt which he fended off with his Arm; otherwise might in all probabillity have been grieviously mischiefed thereto; butt the Depon^{ts} with some others ran into the rescue of the Capt but the s^{d} negro was so furious & outragious and putt forth so great Strength that it was as much as Six or Seven of us could do to hold and restrain him —

Boston October 13th 1701 —

Signed
John *X* Shine —
John Griffin —
Sign'd
Willm Ʒ Lee —"

Colman Papers, that the shipwreck of the Palatines occurred between the years 1732 and 1740. In one of his papers[1] on Peter Faneuil, the late Lucius Manlius Sargent prints an extract from a letter of Faneuil to one of his commercial correspondents in which the disaster at Block Island is alluded to in a way which not only corroborates Mr. Davis's conclusion, but establishes the fact that the Palatines were bound for Philadelphia.[2] On 24 April, 1740, Faneuil wrote to Peter Baynton,[3] —

This accompanies Capt. Burgess Hall,[4] who carries with him to your parts two unfortunate Palatine women that were some time ago shipwrecked in their voyage from Europe to your place, who, being objects of charity which the Providence of God has thrown in our way, I take leave to recommend to you as such, not doubting you will so far commiserate their condition as to direct them the nearest way to get among their friends, with such other relief as you may think necessary.

[1] Dealings with the Dead, ii. 519.

[2] See Mr. Davis's query respecting the destination of the Palatines, in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for 1887, xi. 243, 244.

[3] Peter Baynton, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, born 27 December, 1695, was a son of Benjamin and a grand-nephew of Peter Baynton, an early emigrant to Pennsylvania, who came about 1686 from Bedminster, near Bristol, England. Peter, the emigrant, married Annika (Kyn) Sandelands, widow of James, and the wealthiest woman in the Province. As their only child was a daughter, Rebecca, who in 1713 married Thomas Weston, the name became extinct in that line at his decease.

Peter Baynton, to whom Faneuil's letter was addressed, was a Vestryman and Warden of Christ Church, Philadelphia. He married first, in Charleston, S. C., a Miss Paris, and second, in 1723, his cousin Mary, daughter of John and Rebecca (Smith) Budd, of New Jersey. He resided at Burlington, N. J., near which place he was drowned in the Delaware, 22 February, 1743–4. His son Benjamin, bred to the law, died at the age of twenty-one. Another son, John, of the Philadelphia firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, born 17 December, 1726, married Elizabeth Chevalier, 17 December, 1747, and was father of Peter Baynton, third of the name, born in 1754, who in 1799 was Adjutant-General of the militia of Pennsylvania. The Baytons are among the most ancient families of England. Cf. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, i. 351, 352, 466; ii. 443–448; vi. 17, 18; Christ Church "Inscriptions," p. 50; and p. 369, *post*.

[4] Burgess Hall, in 1733 or 1734, was a householder in Stratfield, a parish of Stratford, Connecticut, where he was baptized in November, 1701, a son of Isaac Hall, Jr., of Redding, Connecticut. This family descended from Francis Hall of New Haven, Fairfield, and Stratford, who was son of Gilbert Hall who emigrated from Kent, England. See Orcutt's History of Stratford and Bridgeport, Conn., i. 502; ii. 1210.

For the identification of Captain Hall and Peter Baynton, I am indebted to Mr. Walter Kendall Watkins, the courteous Assistant-Librarian of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, in the Cabinet of which a part of one of Faneuil's Letter-Books is preserved.

APRIL MEETING, 1893.

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, on Wednesday, 19 April, 1893, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

In the absence of the President, who was attending in Washington the session of the National Academy of Science, and of both Vice-Presidents, the meeting was called to order by the Recording Secretary, and Professor William W. Goodwin was called to the chair.

The record of the last meeting having been read, the following-named gentlemen were unanimously elected Resident Members [1]: —

James Walker Austin.
James Madison Barker.
Walter Cabot Baylies.
Charles Pickering Bowditch.
Frank Brewster.
Sigourney Butler.
Franklin Carter.
Walter Channing.
Stanley Cunningham.
Charles Carroll Everett.
Samuel Swett Green.
John Lathrop.
Francis Henry Lincoln.
Richard Olney.
Endicott Peabody.
William Eustis Russell.
William Roscoe Thayer.
George Frederick Williams.
William Cross Williamson.
Samuel Williston.
Roger Wolcott.

Messrs. George Wigglesworth, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., and Francis C. Lowell were appointed a Committee to nominate officers at the Annual Meeting of the Society, on the Twenty-first of November next; and Messrs. William Endicott, Jr., and J. Montgomery Sears, a Committee to

[1] Mr. William Sigourney Otis was also elected at this meeting, but died on Thursday, 20 April, 1893, before receiving official notice of his election.

audit the accounts of the Treasurer, and to report at the same time.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the Society had received a gift of one hundred dollars from QUINCY A. SHAW, Esquire, as an expression of his interest in the purposes and work of the Society; and that the Council had ordered the same to be set apart as the foundation of a permanent Fund, the interest only of which shall be devoted to defraying the cost of such publications as the Society from time to time may undertake.

Dr. DANIEL DENISON SLADE read the following paper: —

DANIEL DENISON.

FEW names are more intimately associated with the early history of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay than that of Daniel Denison. For more than half a century it stands conspicuous in most of the leading events of the period, whether in the Council-chamber or in the field. We are better able at this time than heretofore to honor his name, and to surround it with even a brighter halo, since chance has recently enabled us to acquire a knowledge of the family birthplace and of the fact that he was a graduate of Cambridge.

In the extreme east of Hertfordshire, one of the many fine counties of England, and about thirty miles north-north-east from London, is the market-town of Bishops Stortford, — a name derived from its position on the river Stort, and from its having been the property of the Bishops of London from the Saxon times. In that town the subject of this paper first saw the light, and passed his childhood and early youth. His grandfather was John Denison, who lived at Bishops Stortford, and whose widow married John Gace, a tanner of the same town, who in his will mentions — probably in a substantial manner — George, Edward, and William Denison, "children of my wife." John Denison died of the plague, 4 December, 1582. Of the three boys, William was baptized at Stortford, 3 February, 1571, and married Margaret Monck, 7 November, 1605. His name is found in the records of

St. Michael's church as Warden in 1606. He had six sons and a daughter. The latter and one of the sons died in infancy; while another went to Holland as a soldier, was at the siege of Breda, and was not heard of again. John, Daniel, Edward, and George continued under the parental roof. Of Daniel's home life, we have but few data. The records of St. Michael's inform us that he was baptized at Stortford, 18 October, 1612. In all probability he attended in due time the grammar school of the town, and afterwards was prepared for his university life at Cambridge. The origin of many of the traits of character which Denison exhibited in the course of his life might have been surmised; but it is much more satisfactory to know, as we now do from his own words, some of the antecedents which led up to them. Thus it is established that he sprang from good stock, that the family were in more than comfortable circumstances, and that he was college-bred. In his autobiography,[1] written for his grandchildren in 1672, he says, —

> John and myself were bred scholars at Cambridge, where I continued till after I had taken my first degree. My father, though very well seated in Stortford, hearing of the then famous transplantation to New England, unsettled himself, and recalling me from Cambridge, removed himself and family in the year 1631 to New England, and brought over with him myself, being about nineteen years of age, and my two younger brothers, Edward and George, leaving my eldest brother John behind him in England, married with a good portion, who was a minister, and lived about Pelham or in Hertfordshire, not far from Stortford, where we were born. My father brought with him into New England a very good estate, and settled himself in Roxbury, and there lived (though somewhat weakening his estate) till the year 1653, in January, when he died, having buried my mother about eight years before, in 1645. I was the eldest of the three brothers brought to New England.

The early impressions which Denison must have imbibed from his home surroundings in England, and charming indeed they were, could not have failed to exert a permanent influence upon him.

[1] This valuable document, dated 26 December, 1672, was printed at length, its quaint orthography being preserved, in the April 1892 number of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvi. 127–133. Cf. *Ibid.* xxiii. 312–335; Winthrop's History of New England (edition of 1853), ii. 318; and Felt's History of Ipswich, pp. 164–167.

How often here in after life, during the few and short relaxations he enjoyed from public and private affairs, must his thoughts have wandered back to the banks of the Stort, to the little hamlet with its ancient church, and to the pleasant days spent in intercourse with his brother John, who was a man of culture, as they made excursions together to the places of interest in the environs of Stortford, or later, walked beneath the classic shades of Cambridge! What a contrast was all this, not only for Denison, but for many others who found themselves on these wild, inhospitable shores of New England! It is, however, to the refined and cultivated mind that these associations prove the strongest and most permanent source of pleasure or of pain. To the great body of men they prove far more weak and transitory.

Although Denison says that he came out to New England in 1631, he does not mention the name of the vessel in which he came, nor his fellow-voyagers. It is probable that it was in the ship "Lyon," with Winthrop's wife and son, and the Apostle Eliot, with whose church his father soon united. The parents of Denison, as they were known here, were of much worth. After settling at Roxbury, the father took the oath of freeman, and in the following year was chosen Constable. In 1634 he was chosen Deputy, and as such served on various important committees. He was one of the original "Donors" of the Roxbury Latin School;[1] and he appears sometimes as an appraiser of the estates of deceased persons. Denison spent the first year in his father's family, but in 1632 removed to Newtown,[2] where his name is found among the earliest inhabitants. He became a freeman 1 April, 1634.

It may not be amiss to recount some incidents of the early days of Newtown. In the year preceding the coming of the

[1] On the "last of August, 1645," sixty-four of the inhabitants of Roxbury subscribed an agreement, still extant, to build and maintain a free school to be managed by seven feoffees, and to allow to the schoolmaster £20 per annum, to be raised annually among themselves in sums ranging from two shillings to £1 4*s*. In the Agreement and in the records of the feoffees the subscribers are termed "Donors." William Denison agreed to give eight shillings annually. His son, Edward Denison, was chosen one of the feoffees 15 February, 1662–3. See "A History of the Grammar School or 'The Free Schoole of 1645 in Roxburie,'" by C. K. Dillaway, Roxbury, 1860, pp. 1–13; 28.

[2] "1638, 2 May. It is ordered that Newtown shall henceforward be called Cambridge." Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 228.

Denisons, Governor Winthrop and Deputy-Governor Dudley, as leaders of at least one thousand colonists under the auspices of the Massachusetts Bay Company, arrived in New England. Having made preparations for the first winter, one of their chief objects was to choose a site for a fortified city. After due consultation, a spot was selected upon the Charles River, a mile below and to the east of Watertown. Thither nearly all of the Colony agreed to remove. Accordingly, early in the spring of 1631, Newtown was commenced; houses were built, and a canal dug to connect the town with the river. The colonists, however, were soon discouraged by unlooked-for events. A compact had been entered into with the Chief of the Indians about Newtown, which tended to allay the apprehensions of the settlers and made them less desirous of fortifying the town. The Governor had already set up the frame of his house. Dudley had finished his house and occupied it. It stood on the west side of Water Street near its southern termination at Marsh Lane. Before winter, Winthrop, without consulting his associates, decided to remove to Boston, which was to become "the chiefest place of resort of shipping,"[1] and to this end quietly ordered his frame to be taken down,[2] and set up in what was to be the future metropolis. In spite of the remonstrances and to the great disappointment of the rest of the company this was done; yet Newtown was not abandoned. The Court of Assistants still adhered to their original plan, as shown by their various orders, — such as levying upon the several plantations £30 for making the proposed canal; and again, in 1632, ordering a farther levy of £60 for erecting a palisade about the limits of the Plantation one mile and a half in length, and enclosing about one thousand acres. The town was laid out in squares, and assumed the appearance, according to Wood,[3] of "one of the neatest and best compacted Towns in New England, having many fair structures, with many handsome contrived streets."

The action of the Governor was naturally taken to heart by Dudley,[4] who was zealous to have Newtown the metropolis, and

[1] Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence" (Poole's edition), p. 66.

[2] See Winthrop's History of New England (edition of 1853), i. 98.

[3] New England's Prospect (Prince Society's edition), p. 43.

[4] Dudley is characterized as "a man of sound judgment in matters of religion, and well-read, bestowing much labor that way" (Johnson's "Wonder-Working

furnished a reason for tendering the resignation of his office; though he finally became reconciled, through the efforts of several of the ministers, and together with Bradstreet, adhered to their compact to remain and carry out the original plans.

Denison's house stood, as nearly as can be ascertained, on the Winthrop estate, near Bow Street, between Arrow and Mount Auburn streets. Into this new home, which, however, was not to shelter him long, he brought his bride, who was to be henceforth his life-long companion, Patience, the second daughter of Governor Dudley. They were married 18 October, 1632. He began his public career by serving his fellow-townsmen in various capacities, and by entering with spirit into civil affairs. He took the oath of freeman in 1634, and in the same year was granted two hundred acres of land above the Falls, on the easterly side of Charles River.

In 1635 Denison removed to Ipswich, — a name which the settlement under Winthrop's son had received the preceding year from the Court of Assistants, in lieu of Agawam, "in acknowledgment of the great honor and kindness done to our people, who took shipping there."[1] Wood[2] thus describes the town: —

> Agawame is nine miles to the north from Salem, which is one of the most spacious places for a plantation, being near the sea. It aboundeth with fish, and flesh of fowles and beasts, great meads and marshes, and plain plowing grounds, many good rivers and harbors and no rattle-snakes.

It is difficult to understand why, after having connected himself with the church and town affairs of Newtown, Denison should so soon have quitted it for another place of abode. It is probable, however, that the differences which had sprung up between Winthrop and Dudley, his father-in-law, whose cause he would naturally espouse, and who had removed to Ipswich, decided him to take this step. Whatever may have influenced him, Ipswich

Providence," Poole's edition, p. 52); as "a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion, — the supreme virtues of a good magistrate" (Morton's "New England's Memorial," Judge Davis's edition, p. 255). He was a principal founder and pillar of the Massachusetts Colony, of which he was several times Governor or Deputy Governor.

[1] Winthrop's History of New England (edition of 1853), i. 164. See also Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 123.

[2] New England's Prospect (Prince Society's edition), pp. 48, 49.

was to be hereafter his permanent home. The journey thither by land was long and tedious in that day, there being only an Indian path which was so uncertain that one[1] from Roxbury, who passed over it later, said "Sometimes I was in it, sometimes out of it, but God directed my way." The easiest method of travel was by sea, which was undoubtedly the course taken by Denison and his young wife in 1635. He continued his public career of usefulness and honor in his new home. Land was assigned to him, "with a house lot of about two acres, which he hath paled in, and built an house upon," say the old records. This dwelling, a humble one, was upon the banks of the Ipswich River, near the brick and stone mills, and was standing till our own day.

The people of Ipswich were not long in finding that they had among them a man whom they could safely place in positions of responsibility and trust. Hence Denison, scarcely twenty-three years old on his arrival, within two years was chosen successively Deputy, Town Clerk, and Captain of the militia. He was a Deputy to the General Court which, in 1637, condemned Mrs. Hutchinson. What views he himself held in this controversy, we have no means of deciding, but we cannot suppose that he sympathized with Mrs. Hutchinson, although both his father and brother George were among those who were disarmed. This controversy[2] requires a passing notice. To the student of our colonial history, the intricacies presented by the Antinomian "heresy" are certainly confusing, and yet its chief points may be presented in an intelligible manner. "Antinomian" signifies a denial of the obligation of the moral law under the Christian dispensation; in other words, that the Gospel has abolished the Law, and that good works are not necessary as duties of Christianity. Those who

[1] John Dane. See his Narrative in New England Historical and Genealogical Register (1854) viii. 154.

[2] Concerning the Antinomian Controversy, cf. Dr. George E. Ellis's "Life of Anne Hutchinson," and Charles W. Upham's "Life of Sir Henry Vane," both in Sparks's American Biography; Mr. Goodell's "A Biographical Sketch of Thomas Maule, of Salem," etc., in Essex Institute Historical Collections (1861), iii. 238–253; Mr. Goodell's Remarks on pages 132–145 *post;* Winthrop's History of New England, *passim;* Memorial History of Boston, i. 171–177, and notes; Harvard College Library Bulletin, No. 11, p. 287; and the forthcoming volume of the Publications of the Prince Society, "Antinomianism in Massachusetts Bay, 1636–38," edited by Charles Francis Adams.

felt spiritually that they were under "a covenant of faith" did not need to concern themselves about the "covenant of works."

This heresy had its origin in Germany, and was there associated with much that was gross and licentious. No such evil, however, was connected with Antinomianism in New England. Its introducer and champion among the Colonists was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson,[1] who was the daughter of an English clergyman. Being interested in the preaching of John Cotton and of her relative, John Wheelwright, she came to Boston in 1634. She soon made herself known by her friendly services to the sick, especially to those of her own sex; and being a woman of superior intelligence, "of nimble wit," and gifted in powers of argumentation, she drew about her many listeners, who came to hear her discuss the sermons of those ministers whose views differed from her own, and who preached, in her judgment, "a covenant of works." Many of the principal people of Boston sympathized with her; and these discussions led to the dissemination of jealousy, discord, and bitterness of spirit, not only among those immediately engaged in the controversy, but among the entire people, a great portion of whom were ignorant of the cause or significance of the contest in which they were engaged, and who had been excited thereto through the heat of strife.

The most serious charge brought against Mrs. Hutchinson was, that "she vented her revelations;" or, in other words, she prophesied judgment and disaster to come upon the Colony, as revealed to her by special divine communications. Being brought before the General Court, the following sentence was passed upon her: That "being convented for traducing the ministers and their ministry in this country, she declared voluntarily her revelations for her ground, and that she should be delivered and the Court ruined with their posterity, and thereupon was banished."[2] Many of the inhabitants in sympathy with her were disarmed by order of the Court "upon pain of ten pound for every default." The reason given by the Court for this indignity, which, by the way, was a very serious matter, although effected quietly, was, that "there is just cause of suspicion that they, as others in Germany in former

[1] Cf. Winthrop's History of New England (edition of 1853), i. 239, 294, 309, 313, *et passim*; ii. 164; and Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, ii. appendix.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 207.

times, may, upon some revelation, make some sudden irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment." The order for disarming extended to "guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot, and match," which, "upon like penalty," those who had been disarmed were forbidden to buy or borrow.[1]

The fact that so soon after his arrival in Ipswich, Denison was selected as Captain, argues that he had a proper bearing and capacity for command. In truth, he had shown such energy and resolution in military affairs that the Colonists early placed entire dependence upon him as a military leader, — a confidence which was never shaken. Accordingly, when in 1643 it was rumored abroad among the plantations that a general conspiracy existed among the native tribes, thereby causing great consternation, all looked to Denison as the man of prudence and sagacity to be relied upon for the raising of troops and the provision of war materials. In fact, those were times of constant alarms of this character, either local or more general; so that he was called upon to exert his best efforts to answer the continuous demands upon his services. At a general town meeting held in 1645, the inhabitants of the town engaged to pay yearly to him, so long as he should be their leader, the sum of £24 7*s*., "in way of gratuitye to encourage him in his military helpfullness unto them, as by severall subscriptions vnder their hands may appeare." Here follow the names of one hundred and forty-five true-hearted friends. Just previous to this expression of regard for their leader, he had been chosen Sergeant-Major, — an office which he held until elected Major-General in 1653. Johnson[2] thus speaks of him: —

> The two Counties of Essex and Norfolk are for present joined in one regiment; their first Major, who now commandeth this regiment, is the proper and valiant Major Daniel Denison, a good soldier and of a quick capacity not inferior to any other of these chief officers; his own company are well instructed in feats of warlike activity.

It must be remembered that in addition to these military duties, Denison was called to take his part in the various civil and political affairs of the day, as they presented themselves in town,

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 211, 212.

[2] "Wonder-Working Providence" (Poole's edition), pp. 192, 193.

county, or colony. In the result of the contest between the several French claimants to the territory of Acadia and Cape Breton, which continued for more than half a century, the interests of the Massachusetts Colony, and especially of Boston, were involved. We have not space here to go into its history, which has been ably set forth by our associate, Dr. Francis Parkman, in his paper on The Feudal Chiefs of Acadia;[1] but in 1646, when the struggle had reached a crisis, and an animated discussion took place in the General Court concerning the rival interests of La Tour and D'Aunay and the claims of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, it was decided to send Denison, with Dudley and Hathorne, to D'Aunay, with full powers to treat with him. Though this embassy was rendered unnecessary in consequence of D'Aunay's sending three of his principal men to Boston to settle all matters of difference, the fact of Denison's appointment is conclusive proof of the high esteem in which he was held in the Colony.[2]

In 1637, he was appointed one of the justices of the County Court at Ipswich. In educational matters he was much interested, being instrumental in the establishment of the Ipswich Grammar School, to the maintenance of which he afterwards contributed freely, and of which he was made one of the feoffees.

We know that Cromwell, after having subdued Ireland, looked about for some means of keeping it in subjection, and for this purpose entertained the idea of transferring some of the hardy settlers of New England to that country. As Palfrey[3] says, "He knew them for a set of men combining the best qualities of the English

[1] Printed in the Atlantic Monthly for January and February, 1893, lxxi. 25–31, 201–213. A good account of this contest is also given by John George Bourinot, D.C.L., President of the Royal Society of Canada, in his recently published work, entitled Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island of Cape Breton, and of its Memorials of the French Régime, with Bibliographical, Historical, and Critical Notes, Montreal, 1892. See, also, Winthrop's History of New England, *passim;* 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 90–121; *Ibid.* Fourth Series, iv. 462; Charles C. Smith's chapter on "Boston and the Neighboring Jurisdictions," in Memorial History of Boston, i. 282, *et seq*, and the same writer's chapter on "Acadia" in Narrative and Critical History of America, iv. 135, *et seq.*

[2] Cf. Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 157–159, iii. 74, 75; and Winthrop's History of New England (edition of 1853), ii. 334, 373, 377.

[3] History of New England, ii. 389.

character. Their courage had been proved by strict tests. Their religious zeal was a light fit to be set upon a hill. They had shown themselves able to organize and to govern." That Cromwell's plan was favorably considered by some of the influential men, among whom was Denison, may be inferred from a letter[1] written by him and others to the Protector, in 1650, asking for information, and giving the terms upon which a possible removal might be effected. Some of these terms were, that they should have liberty of religion as here in New England; that grants of land should be made for the advance of learning; that they should have the choice of a military governor, that they should occupy a healthy portion of country, be free from public charge, and "that no Irish may inhabit among us but such as we shall like of." This project of Cromwell, however, made no general impression in the Colony.

The experience which Denison had acquired by previous conferences with the Dutch, in trade, and respecting differences, etc., induced the General Court to appoint him, in May, 1653, on a committee to join with the Commissioners of the United Colonies "to draw up the case respecting the Dutch and Indians."[2] Not being able to come to an agreement, Eaton, on the part of the Commissioners, and Denison, on the part of the General Court, were each instructed to prepare a short draft to be presented to the Court and Elders. While Eaton was "clamorous for war," Denison did not advocate extreme measures, and it was undoubtedly through his influence that the House of Deputies communicated to the Commissioners their resolve: "That, according to their best apprehensions in the case, they do not understand we are called to make a present war with the Dutch."[3]

In 1653, Denison was chosen an Assistant, and held the office continuously until his decease. In the autumn of the same year he was elected Secretary *pro tempore* of the Colony.

Denison's capabilities seem, indeed, to have been versatile, for we find the following order passed in 1658 by the General Court:[4] —

[1] Printed in 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 115–118.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part 1, 141.

[3] See Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, printed in Plymouth Colony Records, x. 54, 57.

[4] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part 1, 337, 350.

That Major General Daniel Denison diligently peruse, examine, and weigh every law, and compare them with others of like nature, and such as are clear, plain and good, free from any just exception, to stand without any animadversion as approved; such as are repealed or fit to be repealed, to be so marked, and the reasons given; such as are obscure, contradictory, or seeming so, to be rectified, and the emendations prepared; where there is two or more laws about one and the same thing, to prepare a draft of one law that may comprehend the same, to make a plain and easy table, and to prepare what else may present in the perusing of them, to be necessary and useful, and make return at the next sessions of this Court.

The General entered upon this work with zest and diligence, for in a few months the volume was finished, and was at once printed.[1] Only a few copies of this volume are extant. As compensation for "his great paines in transcribing the lawes," the Court granted him a quarter part of Block Island.[2] Two years after, the entire island was sold for £400.

Of his further services as a statesman, a military leader, or as one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England it must suffice to notice only the more important duties he was called to perform. On 9 June, 1654, he was appointed by the General Court with Simon Bradstreet and Samuel Symonds to prepare letters to Cromwell and others to "be sent to England by the first opportunity," together with a "narrative in way of remonstrance, of all matters respecting that which is charged on this Court concerning the breach of the confederacy,[3] for the vindication of this Court's actions in such respect." In 1657, as one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, he signed a manifesto[4] in the form of a letter addressed to the Governor of Rhode Island

[1] Denison had been associated with Samuel Symonds and Joseph Hills in a similar commission as early as 3 May, 1654. (Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part 1, 182.) For an admirable account of the legislation concerning the revision of the laws during the Colonial period, see Mr. William H. Whitmore's Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony prefixed to "The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the Edition of 1660 . . . . Published by order of the City Council of Boston." Second edition, Boston, 1890.

[2] 19 October, 1658. Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part 1, 356.

[3] Cf. Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, printed in Plymouth Colony Records, x. 102, 110–111, 114, 329; Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part 1, 196–197.

[4] Plymouth Colony Records, x. 180–181.

in relation to the Quakers, the following extract from which shows his sentiments as to toleration of that sect: —

> We therefore make it our request that you, as the rest of the Colonies, take such order therein that your neighbours may be freed from that danger; that you remove those Quakers that have been recd, and for the future prohibit their coming amongst you. We further declare that we apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider what further provision God may call us to make to prevent the aforesaid mischief.

When the English Colonies were alarmed at the capture of New York by the Dutch, in 1673, the Commissioners of the United Colonies, on which Board Denison had previously served for eight years, recommended to the General Courts of the Confederacy, to provide means of defence. The Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts had already, on the fourth of August, issued instructions by the seventh article of which Denison, as Major of the Essex regiment, was empowered and required to send "relief and succor" to any port in that county in case of the receipt of tidings of the approach of the enemy. On the tenth of December the General Court ordered a detachment of foot soldiers, besides troopers, to be placed in readiness against the Dutch. One hundred of these were from the Essex regiment. The conduct of this force when called to move on any expedition out of the Colony was committed to Denison as Sergeant-Major.[1]

In 1660, he joined the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company and in the same year he was elected Commander, — the first authentic instance of the conferring of such honor.[2]

Almost the only allusion to his private affairs which we have been able to discover relates to the destruction of his dwelling-house by fire, in 1665. This was the second he had built in Ipswich, and was near the Meeting-House Hill. A female servant of the family was "committed to prison on suspicion of her wickedly and feloniously burning it." She was acquitted, but found guilty of stealing from the Denisons, and of lying, and was

[1] Cf. Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, printed in Plymouth Colony Records, x. 387; Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part 2, 572, 573; and Massachusetts Archives, lxvii. 173.

[2] Whitman's History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company (Second edition), p. 170.

"whipt with ten stripes upon her naked body." He rebuilt on the same site.

In the last years of his life, a storm which had been gradually but surely gathering burst upon the colonies. In 1675 King Philip's War broke out, to be terminated only after months of physical and mental suffering, especially in the frontier settlements; but we cannot here enter into the history of that direful contest. Denison had now reached his sixty-fourth year, and was in the zenith of his fame and popularity as a civilian and military leader. He was immediately recognized as the man best fitted to conduct affairs in the field at this crisis. Having been chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts forces, the following instructions[1] were given him by the Governor and Magistrates in Council, 28 June, 1675: —

In confidence of your wisdom, prudence, and faithfulnes in this trust committed to you for the honor of God, the good of his people, and the security of the interest of our Lord Jesus Christ in the churches, expecting and praying that you may be helped in a daily dependence upon him for all that supply of grace that may be requisite for your carrying an end therein, we must leave much to His direction and guidance of you upon the place, as occasion may occur from time to time, yet we commend unto you these instructions following, which we expect and require that you do attend: — You are with all expedition to march away with those soldiers you have, after those forces marched before, over whom you have the command by commission, unto whom you are to declare the same, so that they may know you to be their Commander-in-chief, and you are to require them to obey you in attending the service. You are to see that your commanders and soldiers be kept in good order and discipline, according to the rules military, and that all profaneness and disorder be avoided in the camp as much as in you lies; and upon the breaking forth of any, you are to punish without partiality. . . . You are by all possible means to endeavor to put the enemy out of his skulkings (whereby he picks off the English), by pressing upon them with resolution the best you may, and so force them to engagement or leaving their station. Above all, endeavour the taking or destroying the head of them, Philip and his chief counsellors, that hath been the contriver and carrier and end of this treacherous and barbarous insurrection. . . . You are from time to time to give us intelligence of your proceedings, and how the Lord shall please to deal with you in this expedition.

[1] Preserved in Massachusetts Archives, lxvii. 208.

At this time he was prevented by illness from taking the field in person, and Major Savage was placed in command; but that Denison directed affairs in his usual methodical manner, is shown by the correspondence which he carried on with his officers, as well as with the government. Many of his letters are still extant in excellent preservation, written in clear, concise language, and exhibiting superior penmanship.

In the autumn of 1676, the Court ordered him to proceed to Portsmouth, and to take chief command of the forces there destined for the war at the eastward. He was authorized "to impress men, horses, provisions, and ammunition, etc., as to him shall seem mete." In this connection we quote the following from Hubbard[1]: —

> The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts had at this time their hands full, with the like attempts of Philip and his complices to the Westward, yet were not unmindful of the deplorable condition of these Eastern plantations, having commited the care thereof to the majors of the respective regiments of the several counties on that side of the country, but more especially to the care and prudence of the honored Major D. Denison, the Major General of the whole Colony, a gentleman who, by his great insight in and long experience of all martial affairs, was every way accomplished for the managing that whole affair.

Active operations against the enemy at the eastward were carried on until late in the autumn of 1676, under Denison's direction. Mugg, the Sachem, surrendered himself to the Commander-in-Chief, and passing through Ipswich, was sent to Boston, where a treaty was concluded, stipulating the cessation of hostilities, the restoration of prisoners, etc.[2] This state of peace continued, however, only until the following spring, when hostilities were renewed, and continued until the spring of 1678, when the war ended.

In January, 1681, the General Court ordered a copy of a letter from the King, respecting Mason's claims to certain territory, to be given to Denison and the other magistrates of the County of Essex, for their consideration; and the next June, probably in accordance with their report, the Court made answer[3] to the king's letter. The following is an extract: —

[1] The History of the Indian Wars in New England (Drake's edition), ii. 129.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 176, 189 *et seq.*

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 311–313. Cf. *Ibid.* v. 303, 398.

We also published his majesty's pleasure to those villages of this Colony on the south of Merrimack, some part whereof Mr. Mason makes his pretensions unto; but what are his bounds and limits we nor the inhabitants there do not know, but are in hope that what may be presented to his majesty on their behalf will be sufficient to obviate the clamor and groundless pretences of the complainer.

Of the remaining months of his life we know but little. As he was chosen an Assistant, and called upon for other offices, we may suppose that the distressing disease of which he died, did not prevent him from performing his public duties until very near the end. In the discharge of these duties, he had served as Representative eleven years; Speaker of the House three years;[1] Assistant thirty years; Major-General of the entire military force of the Colony eleven years; Commissioner of the United Colonies eight years, and in 1662 President of that Board. He certainly had not many leisure moments for private literary efforts; but among his papers was found a treatise, which was published two years after his death, by his pastor, William Hubbard. This publication, now exceedingly rare, is entitled "Irenicon, or A Salve for New England's Sore: Penned by * * Major General [Denison]; and Left behind him as his Farewell and last Advice to his Friends of the Massachusetts."[2] He says: —

Among the manifold symptoms of this disease, I apprehend none more threatening our dissolution than the sad and unreasonable divisions about matters of religion. . . . A receipt of these five simples without composition, accompanied with Fasting and praying till they are well digested, with God's blessing may bring about the expected cure: for the dose you need not trouble yourself, there is not danger of taking too much; and if this should fail, which I fear not, I have another receipt, but I fear it is somewhat corroding, which I hope I shall never have occasion to use, my lenitives working according to my expectations: so I take my leave, committing you to God and a good nurse.

[1] That is, four sessions: May and October, 1649, October, 1651, and May, 1652.

[2] This essay was printed in the same volume with Hubbard's Funeral Sermon on General Denison, and is included between pages 175–218. The imprint is, "Printed at Boston by Samuel Green, 1684." The above extracts may be found on pp. 179, 218.

He died, 20 September, 1682, at the age of threescore years and ten. His funeral obsequies were conducted in a manner worthy of his distinguished rank. The death of so illustrious a public servant called forth expressions of grief, not alone among his immediate family and townsmen, but throughout the Colony. That he was a man of distinguished abilities, and those of a most varied character, his long retention in offices of high public trust abundantly testifies. That he performed his duties faithfully, and satisfactorily to his constituents, is shown by his repeated re-election, even after it was known that he was ready to yield to the king's prerogative. Randolph, in 1676, in answer to inquiries respecting the present state of New England, and who were the most popular in the magistracy, mentions Denison among "the most popular and well-principled men."[1]

Savage, in his edition of Winthrop's History of New England,[2] speaks of him thus: —

> The moderate spirit by which he was usually actuated, had not a general spread, yet the continuance of his election to the same rank for many years, when his sympathy was not, in relation to the controversy with the Crown, in unison with that of the people, is evidence of the strong hold his virtues and public labors had acquired.

We have neither portrait nor description of the person of Denison. His outward form must be left to the imagination. What manner of man he was inwardly, we learn from the words of one who knew him well, — his minister and friend, William Hubbard, who preached, at Denison's death, a funeral sermon[3] from Isaiah iii. 1–3: —

> For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water, The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient, The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator:

> There are but few men born into the world in any age in whom all these desirable qualities are eminently met together. . . . The greater is our sorrow who are now met together to solemnize the funeral of a

[1] Report to the Lords of Trade, 12 October, 1676, printed in Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers (Prince Society's edition), ii. 236.

[2] Edition of 1853, ii. 318.

[3] The extracts here printed may be found on pp. 151, 157–159.

person of so great worth, enriched with so many excellencies, which made him neither live undesired, nor die unlamented, nor go to his grave unobserved. . . . His parts and abilities were well known amongst those with whom he lived, . . . having indeed many natural advantages above others for the more easy attaining of skill in every science. . . . His military skill, some years before his death, advanced him to the conduct and command of the whole, which he was able to have managed with great exactness, yet was he not inferior in other sciences; and as a good souldier of Christ Jesus, he had attained to no small confidence in his last conflicts with the King of Terrors, being not afraid to look Death in the face in cold blood, but with great composedness of mind received the last summons: For though he was followed with tormenting pain of the stone or strangury that pursued him to the last, he neither expressed impatience under those grinding pains, nor want of confidence, or comfort from his first seizure.

Peace to the noble soldier's dust, as he sleeps quietly on the hillside at Ipswich, beneath the old red sandstone slab bearing the heraldic crest[1] upon its weather-stained face! Spring, with its flowers and birds, again brings "bloom and joy" to the spot, as it has in the successive years of more than two centuries since he was laid there, — "*æternumque tenet per sæcula nomen.*"

At the conclusion of the reading of Dr. Slade's paper, Mr. GOODELL spoke as follows: —

I have listened to the reading of Dr. Slade's paper with interest and satisfaction. By combining his previous contributions upon the subject, he has produced, it seems to me, the most complete and graphic sketch of the character and career of Major-General Daniel Denison that has been given to the public. It is interesting to have the distinguished men of early New England artistically and sympathetically, as well as exactly, portrayed; and it is the singular merit of the paper just read that it exhibits a play of imagination and a power of appreciation which have enabled the author to rehabilitate the scattered remains of a forgotten personality in the obscure past with a vividness that is most charming.

To me the story of this colonial soldier and magistrate is specially attractive. Some of my nearest and dearest kindred

[1] See The Heraldic Journal, i. 91; ii. 141.

were born in the old town of Ipswich, where he spent the most important years of his life. In the same burying-ground, on the side of the Town Hill, in which reposes the dust of this ancient worthy are entombed or interred the bodies of my maternal ancestors; and the brief allusion to that quiet inclosure with which Dr. Slade closed his paper brought to my mind the days when I pondered over the quaint inscriptions on its sunken headstones before I had come to know the history of its distinguished dead, and, later, the sunny hours when I sat under the shade of the surrounding shrubbery with my friend Whitmore, and compared for the Heraldic Journal, which we were editing, our tracings of the ancient legends and armorial devices cut upon its tombs and gravestones. Indeed, I have further cause for interest in the town, since, with the voyagers who formed one of the largest single accessions to the little community settled at Agawam (which that very year was renamed Ipswich), came my paternal ancestor, Robert Goodell. Although he settled farther up on Ipswich River, within the limits of Salem, he was one of those who sailed from Ipswich in old England 30 April, 1634, in the "Elizabeth," commanded by William Andrews, — a voyage memorable in the history of the town as bringing the founders of so many families still prominent in Ipswich and its vicinity. Denison's name has ever been proudly cherished in Ipswich, and is borne not only by his descendants, but as a Christian name by many who have received it originally or by inheritance as an honorable distinction.

I trust I may be pardoned if I take this opportunity to offer a word of dissent from Dr. Slade on one incidental matter in his essay. While I applaud the candor which would not conceal the darker side of Denison's career, as shown in his bearing toward the Antinomians, so called, and the Quakers, I cannot quite agree that the most serious charge brought against Anne Hutchinson was that she "vented her revelations." As I understand the *gravamen* of her offence in the apprehensions of her contemporaries, it was that she held to the heresy that "sanctification was no evidence of justification," and that her "revelations" were not more certainly the "ventings" of a perverted imagination than were those of hundreds of the Puritan saints. The importance of her visions and vaticinations was magnified and distorted,

and made a plausible pretext for enlisting against her those who were not entirely convinced that her peculiar doctrines were erroneous.

In the gradual relaxation of our hold upon the strict tenets of our fathers, the words in which Mrs. Hutchinson's heresy was described, though of exact signification two or three centuries ago, have become almost meaningless, even to some of the doctors in divinity among the so-called Orthodox, as appears by their confessions of inability to comprehend the meaning of the Antinomian controversy, or by their unsatisfactory statements of the issues upon which the Colony was divided in 1636. This is the more surprising inasmuch as the disputed points are clearly brought out by the most cursory study of the doctrines of Calvin (which are the foundation of our ancient New England theology), or even by recalling our childhood's drill in the questions and answers of the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, — a statement of doctrine that was accepted by our fathers as a satisfactory solution of all the perplexities, and an authority for harmonizing all the dissensions, of this very Antinomian controversy.

In view of the manner in which, as I conceive, the subject has been slighted by many historians, I venture to restate my understanding of the principal issue involved in the theological agitation which nearly paralyzed the Colony about seven years after Winthrop's company had removed from Charlestown to Boston.

According to Calvin, the great purpose of the Divine mind and the proper chief end of all human endeavor was the gathering of elect souls into the Church Triumphant, where, after the judgment, they should "glorify God and enjoy him forever." This could only be done through the medium of the Church Militant, as the body of believers in this world was called. Membership of the visible church, therefore, was presumptive evidence that the subject had been effectually "called" of God and "elected" to salvation, — both of which processes were necessary to his final beatification. All who were not thus elected to salvation were elected to eternal condemnation, which meant utter and hopeless subjection to the infinite wrath of God. As calling and election to salvation, if "effectual," necessarily implied that the sinner, who through Adam's fall had justly incurred and merited condem-

nation, had been *justified*, arbitrarily and without any consideration of his good deeds or intentions, by an inscrutable decree of the Divine will, it was essential for the comfort of the believer that he have assurance of having been thus called and elected. According to Calvin and the Catechism, this assurance was a reasonable inference from certain preceding or concurring emotions, experiences, and observances; and these together constituted "*sanctification*." Ordinarily, therefore, sanctification was wholly a matter of rational perception or deduction. Constant attention to religious duties, public and private, and persistent or increasing interest therein, — especially attendance upon stated preaching and divine worship in the sanctuary, — joined to moral conduct conformable to the commandments of the Decalogue, were a sufficient foundation for such a profession of faith in the leading doctrines of Calvinism as would entitle the professor to admission to church fellowship and to communion, he having been previously baptized. This admission completed the presumptive proof of his *sanctification*, which in turn, as I have said, established by inference his *justification*.

Now in all this business of attaining salvation there was nothing necessarily of fervor, enthusiasm, or rapture. Essentially it was a process as methodical as logic, and as cool and calculating as mathematics. Indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise when the end to be reached was believed to be unattainable through human longing or striving, but absolutely fixed and predetermined by an unalterable, inexorable decree formed before the foundation of the world.

Against this theory, which I believe we in all candor owe it to our fathers to confess may be fairly traced through Augustine back to Saint Paul, there appears to have been arrayed in the Christian Church, from the remotest times, a spiritual or emotional school, which held that the assurance of reconciliation to God or adoption by him was internal, and immediately and divinely communicated. With this school, the supreme object of spiritual yearning was close, personal communion with God, and implicit submission to his will, rather than the averting of his anger or the assurance of being the subject of his undeserved partiality. Although, owing to the prepotency of their self-abnegation and resignation (which involved the subordination of intellect to

emotion, and consequently a contempt of the refinements of philosophical reasoning), the tendency of this school was toward disregard of the letter of the law, there is no evidence except the untrustworthy inferences and imputations of their enemies that in laxity of morals they exceeded the orthodox standard.

The difference between these two schools in religion is analogous to the difference between the philosophic schools of Plato and Aristotle, and is probably as old as that divergence in speculation, — or rather is traceable to the differences of mental constitution from which sprang those contrarieties in philosophy.

Clearly, since the fourteenth century, when the data for accurate conceptions of individual views and character became fixed in literature or so firmly impressed upon contemporary life and manners as to furnish history with materials for a sound criterion of personal traits and a clear understanding of the rise and effects of doctrines then taught, we are warranted in believing that this spiritual school was neither insignificant in its influence nor in the number of exemplary characters among its members. That its effect upon Christian life and thought was beneficial and permanent there can be no doubt. No essential difference is discoverable between what are commonly understood to have been the teachings of John Tauler, the Strasburg mystic of the fourteenth century, and those of Anne Hutchinson and the Quakers. Again, those who were condemned, disarmed, or expatriated here for heresy in 1637 seem generally to have acquiesced in the doctrines of the Quakers as soon as they began to be promulgated in New England. A striking illustration of this is the experience of Mary Dyer, who, having been banished in 1637 as the friend and disciple of Anne Hutchinson, was hanged on Boston Common in 1660 as a Quaker.

Absurd as it may appear to us in these days of enlightened criticism, Anne Hutchinson, as she tells us, came suddenly to the perception of the Divine voice within while pondering some verses of the Songs of Solomon. This inward impulse or monition, which, borrowing the words of the oriental idyl, she called "the voice of my Beloved," is indistinguishable from the inward movings of the Spirit which incited, guided, and solaced George Fox and his followers.

The Quakers were the more radical, indefatigable, and successful in disseminating the new spiritual doctrine. It is mainly

owing to their influence on religious thought in New England, I believe, that during the last century the Arminian teachings of the Methodists and Revivalists were so readily received here, thus laying a foundation for the growth of those sentiments respecting the evidence of salvation which now generally prevail among the so-called evangelical sects. Thus, consciously or unconsciously, Anne Hutchinson's heresy, branded as blasphemous by our forefathers, and deemed by them, as good William Hubbard declares, a "pretence of crying up the free grace of God," is now not only tolerated but embraced in the home of her persecutors. By flinging the portals of heaven wide open to all, it has furnished the preacher with an irresistible weapon in his assaults upon the infernal adversary; it warms the ardor of the revivalist, humbles and melts the obdurate sinner, inspires the hymn-writer, and to the solitary, anxious seeker for salvation it drowns the thunders of Sinai in the whispers of peace and the promise of a most free and gracious pardon.

Moreover, the doctrine of the immanence of the Holy Spirit logically demands absolute religious liberty; since no human being is authorized to deny or suppress the suggestions of the Divine mind. Hence, to the Quakers, who continued the faith of the so-called Antinomians, Massachusetts is demonstrably indebted for her boasted religious freedom, — which, however, was not fully established until the amendment of her Constitution in 1833.[1]

In the record of Mrs. Hutchinson's career there is nothing, that is free from the suspicion of being calumnious, which will sustain the charge that she was either mischievous, meddlesome, froward, quarrelsome, insolent, or vindictive. Indeed, I see no good reason for doubting that she was one of the sweetest saints that ever walked the earth, — as good as the best in the Calendar. An ardent and ingenious mind (Hubbard says of her that she "was of a nimble wit"[2]) ordinarily finds little difficulty in reconciling all seeming contrarieties to its own cherished views; and hence the more profoundly she studied the Scriptures the

[1] See note on page 140 *et seq.*, *post.*

[2] "This gentlewoman was of a nimble wit, voluble tongue, eminent knowledge in the Scriptures, of great charity, and notable helpfulness, especially in such occasions where those of that sex stand in need of the mutual help of each other."— 2 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v. 283.

more readily they opened to the new key with which she believed herself divinely intrusted for the enlightenment and edification of her fellow-creatures. In quickness of apprehension, acuteness, and the command of texts, she proved more than a match for the clergy who badgered her with their quibbles and paradoxes. They had never encountered her new and original propositions in the fields of scholastic controversy with which they were familiar. Thus thrown upon their native resources, they drifted about without pilot or compass. They were not only perplexed by the startling tenets broached by her or imputed to her by them, but alarm was added to their perplexity when they discovered that in arraigning her they could not agree among themselves in formulating articles of impeachment. By a plurality of votes, however, they specified a long list of errors, most of which, against her protestations, they had deduced from her teachings; and these, made by them the basis of her condemnation, still supply her calumniators with their stock arguments.

Her trial proved a veritable Pandora's Box. The theological wrangles that ensued could not be quieted by repeated synods; and the clerical committee appointed to harmonize these contentions never reported. Happily or unhappily, the result of the Assembly at Westminster in 1643 was promulgated in season to be adopted as the end of controversies which the domestic authorities were unable to reconcile or suppress.

It is a source of profound and lasting regret that such good men as the earliest rulers and clergy of Massachusetts undoubtedly were, should have been so blinded by their devotion to a false system of religious belief, and so mistaken in their ideas of the proper function of the civil magistrate, as to have been totally inhospitable toward new doctrines that were not only harmless but, as now appears, beneficial to religion and the commonwealth, and to treat the holders of those doctrines as dangerous interlopers.

There was no sufficient reason for forcibly depriving the Antinomians of their birthright privilege to bear arms. No similarity existed between them and the Anabaptists of Münster, either in their professions or in the circumstances which led to the excesses committed by the latter. The language suggestive of physical warfare which the former borrowed from the Scriptures was clearly

figurative, and not more menacing than when it fell from the lips of our Saviour; nor could there be charged upon these inoffensive disciples of one whose life was all benevolence, even such harmless demonstrations as the rabble parades of the Salvation Army in our day. As for their successors and representatives, the Quakers, their whole subsequent history shows there was more to fear of danger to the State from their depleting the militia by their refusal to bear arms than from their instigating armed insurrections.

A bad name is more easily incurred than got rid of. Literally Antinomian means opposed to law — impliedly, in this instance, the moral law of Moses; and from this circumstance it has been supposed that these conscientious Christians were in theory, if not in practice, lawless libertines. Nothing, as I have already intimated, could be further from the truth. The name was not of their adopting; it was contumeliously applied to them by their enemies. And the only reason for thus stigmatizing them was that they maintained that as the law came by Moses, and grace and truth by Jesus Christ, the literal observance of the law was not to be taken as proof of union with God without the indispensable corroboration of inward communion; or perhaps it would be more exact to say that, with them, the communion was the direct evidence, and legal conformity the corroboration. Doubtless extravagant expressions were occasionally uttered, and excesses perhaps occasionally committed, in the fervor of their zeal under their new and strange esoteric experiences, that they allowed to pass unrebuked; but as for their conduct in the main, I think it has not been and cannot be proved that there was more cause for scandal or reproach among these innovators than among their persecutors. Indeed, I believe there was less.

Let us have done with unmanly apology for the inexcusable wrong-doings of our ancestors. The story of the persecutions of the Antinomians and Quakers is a dreary chapter of inhuman malevolence, and an ineffaceable blot on the fair fame of those who themselves had fled from a milder form of tyranny. It was a deplorable refinement of cruelty for Denison and his associate Commissioners of the United Colonies, in their purpose to wield the sword of persecution against the Quakers, who were enjoying the quiet of their sanctuary in Rhode Island, to endeavor to intimidate the government of that Colony into an abandonment

of the high principle of toleration which is her peculiar glory and boast. And it is sad indeed to reflect that the fathers of New England should have rejected with bitter reproaches and visited with the severest punishment the earnest, sincere pleadings of one of the brightest and most spiritually-minded women that ever landed on these shores. It is still sadder to feel that they resorted to sharp practices to convict her, and then quibbled to justify their doings.

NOTE: THE QUAKERS AS PROPAGANDISTS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The immediate and efficient agency of the Society of Friends in bringing about, in Massachusetts, "religious liberty," as we now understand that phrase, seems not to be generally appreciated. Indeed, our foremost historians who have touched upon some of the more important episodes in the course of this great reform appear to have been entirely unaware of their significance. While occasionally stating the facts with much particularity, they have been content to treat them as trivial, or to dismiss the subject with a sneer. (See Palfrey's History of New England, iv. 449, 450, note.)

The following summary of the progress of this transcendant advance in civilization is appended at the request of the Committee of Publication, as pertinent to the passage in the text to which the first footnote on page 137 relates.

Refugees from religious intolerance in the Colony of Massachusetts found their securest sanctuary in Rhode Island and in Providence Plantations. Although the Colony of New Plymouth, as George Bishope wrote in his "New England Judged," "danced to the Massachusetts pipe," it was not, even at the seat of government, so rigorous as the northern Colony in its treatment of heretics; and in that part of its territory which bordered upon Seaconnet River its coercive discipline was still further relaxed. This was either the cause or the result of the comparatively large proportion of dissenters domiciled in that territory, who seem to have enjoyed nearly as much liberty as their neighbors across the river. Upon the union of Plymouth and Massachusetts under the Province Charter, the extension to this territory of Massachusetts laws for the settlement and support of ministers and for the building and maintenance of meeting-houses, and the stringent enforcement of those laws, was a grievous burden to these dissenters. In the first General Court convened under the new charter the representatives from Little Compton — Henry Head and Daniel Wilcok — were expelled from the House for inciting the Rhode Island government to attempt to relieve their constituents from the Massachusetts yoke. This was to be accomplished by assuming jurisdiction over such of the territory next east of Seaconnet River as had been claimed by both Plymouth and Rhode Island under their respective charters, and the title to which had been left undetermined by the royal commissioners in 1665. In pursuance of this scheme, the assembly of Rhode Island nominated a surveyor to ascertain the eastern bounds of the disputed territory.

After their expulsion from the House of Representatives, Head and Wilcok were tried for seditious riot, convicted, and heavily fined. Head paid his fine; but Wilcok fled to Rhode Island, where he remained several years, eluding pursuit by the sheriff of Bristol, who more than once attempted his recapture. He was eventually permitted to return upon commuting his fine by the surrender of his lands in Massachusetts to the General Court as the agents of the province.

This was the beginning of a series of conflicts between the provincial authorities and the dissenting inhabitants of several towns in the county of Bristol, in which encounters the dissenters usually succeeded in adroitly evading or effectually resisting the obnoxious laws.

These contests were brought to a crisis in 1722, after the imperfections of legislation by which the dissenters had secured immunity had been gradually remedied until apparently there was no further chance of evading them. In that year the refusal of the Quaker selectmen of Dartmouth and Tiverton — "the only remaining towns in the province which had not yielded to the ruling party in worship"[1] — to assess the taxes for the support of the Orthodox ministry specially set upon those towns in the Province Tax Act, was followed by their arrest. The Quakers in these towns, who were now firmly resolved no longer tamely to submit to the tyranny of the Legislature, took this means to raise an issue before the Privy Council. As early as 1705 their brethren of Connecticut had effectually put a stop to persecution in that Colony, by their successful application to Queen Anne for relief against an outrageous piece of intolerant legislation enacted under the head of "Heretics." They themselves had repeatedly prayed the General Court for relief; and in one of their petitions they had intimated that the Friends in England were co-operating with them in their endeavors to procure redress. The meek non-resistance of the English Friends, their absolute indifference to politics, and their readiness to pay to Cæsar his proper tribute, whether he appeared as a profligate Stuart or as the exemplary Prince of Orange, were greatly to their advantage. While it excited the contempt of partisans, their compliant demeanor had won for them an enviable position at court, to which they were permitted to resort on equal terms with the highest. They seem to have anticipated and enlarged Pope's discovery, in finding that, for themselves at least, in the exercise of prerogative, as well as in "forms of government," —

"Whate'er is best administered, is best."

Upon the refusal of the assessors to comply with the statute, Joseph Anthony and John Sisson, assessors of Tiverton, and John Aikin and Philip Tabor, assessors of Dartmouth, were arrested, and by the Court of Sessions sentenced to imprisonment. They promptly appealed to the Privy Council, and employed the necessary agents to prosecute their appeal. The inhabitants of Dartmouth forthwith met in town meeting and voted to raise by a town tax money sufficient to pay for all "charges arising or set on the selectmen . . . either by execution of their bodies or estate or in appealing to his Majesty for relief;" and accordingly £700 was raised as an indemnity fund, including a per diem allowance to the prisoners "for every day they lie in jail on the town's account." A similar

[1] Backus's History of the Baptists (Backus Historical Society's Edition), i. 500.

course was pursued by the inhabitants of Tiverton. These proceedings were repeated the following year, and two other assessors of Dartmouth were imprisoned for refusing to comply with the requirements of the Tax Act of 1723. These, however, seem not to have appealed, preferring to await the decision of the Privy Council in the former cases. That decision was announced in 1724, and by it the persons first imprisoned, after thirteen months' incarceration, were liberated and their fines remitted. Upon representing to the General Court the similarity of the cases of the assessors of both years, those last imprisoned were in like manner released by a resolve signifying the "ready and dutiful compliance" of the Assembly "with his Majesty's will and pleasure."

The success of the Friends now encouraged other sects to apply to the Crown for relief. By an old law, all congregations in Boston were independent of the town and of each other in their prudential affairs. Hence the dissenting religious assemblies which had gained a foothold there could not complain of the tyranny which bore so hard upon their brethren in the country towns. However, when the Episcopalians began to think of building chapels and gathering congregations outside of Boston, they were particularly disturbed at being obliged to contribute to the support of Congregational ministers, besides bearing the expense of their own parishes. In 1727, therefore, Timothy Cutler and Samuel Miles, Episcopal clergymen of Boston, united with five other Episcopal clergymen of Massachusetts in a petition to the king in council for a repeal of all the laws (beginning with the Act of 1692) for the settlement and support of ministers and for the building and repair of meeting-houses. They sought the powerful aid of the Bishop of London, who had official charge of ecclesiastical affairs *in partibus infidelium*, and undoubtedly would have received the support, as they had the sympathy, of the whole hierarchy of England. This petition was received by the Privy Council on the nineteenth of October; but just two months thereafter the Legislature of Massachusetts, alarmed at the prospect, adroitly defeated the purpose of the petition by passing an act (Province Laws, 1727–28, chap. 7) requiring that all taxes collected of Episcopalians should be paid over by the town treasurer to the minister of the Church of England in the town where the tax was collected. The act also gave the Episcopal minister "the right to receive and, if need be, to recover the same at law." The only objection that could be made to this act by the petitioners was that it confined the limit of a parish to a territory of five miles radius, which they alleged was too small, and that the deficiency in the tax for the support of the Orthodox minister, caused by this diversion of a part of the tax, was to be made up by reassessment, in which Episcopalians were to be taxed with the rest. As the matter was dropped here, it is to be inferred that the Privy Council deemed these objections unimportant. This easement of the Episcopalians continued to be the law in Massachusetts until the amendment of the Constitution, in 1833.

The next year after the passage of this act favoring the Episcopalians, the first act (1728–29, chap. 4) was passed recognizing the religious scruples of Baptists and Quakers. This act, which was limited to five years, exempted the polls only, of Quakers and Baptists, from being taxed for the support of ministers, and their bodies from being taken in execution on warrants for collecting such taxes. The next year an act (1729–30, chap. 6) in addition to the act of the previous

year was passed, extending the exemption to the real and personal estates of Quakers and Baptists, or Anabaptists, as they were called.

By this time the Quakers in England had acquired such a degree of influence that the politicians began to see the wisdom of keeping on the right side of the leaders of the sect so recently derided and despised. Jonathan Belcher, upon his arrival from England with the commission of Governor, met the assembly with the usual opening speech, in which he took occasion to recommend that body to "imitate the Royal Indulgence of our gracious Sovereign, that none of our Laws may carry in them a Spirit of Rigour or Severity towards those who conscienciously differ from us in the modes of divine worship." The next year an act (1731–32, chap. 11) was passed more clearly exempting the Quakers from taxes for the maintenance of ministers and meeting-houses, and removing some difficulties which they had encountered in proving their claim to exemption under the former laws enacted for their relief. This act immediately followed a second speech by Belcher to the Assembly, in which he had reminded them of his former appeal for toleration, and added: "Of this matter I am obliged to remind you from the repeated applications made to me by the people among us called Quakers, who think themselves under great hardships from some of the laws of this province. They are generally a set of virtuous and inoffensive people, and good members of the Commonwealth, and their friends in England are a great body of men, and esteemed as well attached to his Majesty and his royal house as any of the best of his subjects. I would, therefore, upon all these considerations think it an instance of your prudence and wisdom to pass some further law for their quiet and ease."

The Privy Council were at first inclined to disallow this act because it did not extend to other dissenters besides Quakers, but concluded to let it stand, after ordering an additional instruction to the Governor to restrain him in future from assenting to any such act which did not embrace "all persons whatsoever being of the persuasion or denomination of Protestants." For this service in behalf of the Quakers Belcher got his reward; it was the remonstrance of the Friends in England that prevailed to prevent his supersedure in office in 1739.

In 1734 (1734–35, chap. 6) it became the turn of the Anabaptists to receive more complete exemption. The next year (1735–36, chap. 15) the Episcopalians were altogether exempted from ministerial rates. In 1737 (1737–38, chap. 6) the last law exempting the Quakers was re-enacted and continued ten years; and in 1740 (1740–41, chap. 6) the law exempting the Baptists, which was temporary, was also re-enacted and continued for seven years. In 1747 (1747–48, chap. 6) both of these acts were again continued for ten years. In 1752 (1752–53, chap. 15) an act was passed to relieve the Anabaptists by establishing rules for identifying their members and ministers. In 1758 (1757–58, chap. 20) the provisions of the recently expired acts for the relief of Quakers and Anabaptists were incorporated in one act, and continued for three years, and again in 1761 (1760–61, chap. 21) for ten years. In 1770 (1770–71, chap. 10) this act, amplified and made less burdensome, was re-enacted for three years. In this act, for the first time, the Baptists were styled Antipedobaptists, instead of the more offensive name hitherto improperly applied to them. In 1774 (chap. 6) this act was

again re-enacted and continued for three years; and again continued in 1777 (1777–78, chap. 4), to 1 November, 1779, and then, finally (1779–80, chap. 18), to the first day of November, 1785. The Constitution, which went into operation 25 October, 1780, continued all the previous laws in full force for the time for which they were respectively enacted.

By this time nearly all sectarian animosities had been forgotten in the superior concerns of common defence and the common welfare; still, it had been found impracticable to secularize the Constitution, and under it even the act which expired in 1785 was not renewed. The Baptists, however, by the provisions of their respective charters of incorporation, which were freely granted after 1780, were specially exempted; but the Quakers could only avail themselves of the provisions of Art. III. of the Declaration of Rights. This article conferred upon every citizen the right to have the money contributed by him for the support of public worship paid to the teachers of his own denomination. This was a privilege of doubtful value to the Quakers. They having no "hireling priesthood," it was by no means clear that any class among them could be deemed "teachers" within the meaning of the Declaration; and as their professed preachers were not ordained conformably to ancient usage, their authority to give legal receipts for money contributed by their congregations was not so unequivocal as to be beyond dispute. Hence it became necessary to make some special legislative provision for removing these doubts. By the act of 23 June, 1797, therefore, substantially so much of the act of 1774 for the relief of Quakers and Antipedobaptists as applied to the former sect was re-enacted and made perpetual. By the act of 4 March, 1800, providing for the public worship of God, and repealing former acts, the polls and estates of Quakers were absolutely exempted from assessment in the raising of taxes for the support of ministers and meeting-houses. The certificate of membership prescribed by this act was changed by the act of 8 March, 1803, so as to leave no doubt of its application to Friends, by providing that the signatures of two overseers, and the countersignature of the clerk, of a Friends' meeting should be sufficient authority to the assessors to abate such tax and to exempt the person named therein. In this act, for the first time in our legislation, this sect were called "Friends," though six years before the Legislature had so far outgrown the ancient prejudice as to denominate them "Christians." Finally, as late as 1811 it was deemed necessary to declare by statute (chap. 6) that money paid for the support of public worship might be paid to a public teacher "ordained according to the usages of his sect," by those who "usually attend his instructions;" and to remove a further doubt, this was made to apply to societies, whether corporate or incorporate. This continued to be the law until 11 November, 1833, when the people ratified the eleventh article of amendment of the Constitution, by which all persons became entitled to a voluntary release from all obligations to support any religious society.

While the Quakers were thus securing for themselves and others immunity from pecuniary burdens imposed for the benefit of a hostile sect, they were making progress toward freedom of conscience in other directions. As early as 1719 (1719–20, chap. 11) they were granted the privilege of making a solemn declaration in lieu of the oaths of abjuration and supremacy which could be demanded

of every subject. Twenty-three years later this privilege was extended to all cases where by law an oath was required; and the law, made thus comprehensive, together with an act passed in 1758 (1757–58, chap. 17), to exempt them from the penalty of the law for non-attendance on military musters, was revived, enlarged, and continued down to the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

This view of the successful efforts of the Friends is no disparagement of the Baptists. Indeed, the latter, who at all times and everywhere have been among the stanchest upholders of the rights of conscience, are entitled to even greater praise than the Friends for their steadfastness to the same great principle, inasmuch as it is not a necessary and logical consequence of their cardinal doctrines. The Friends could not consent that the Holy Spirit, which they believed immanent in the humblest child of God, should be silenced, nor its prophet molested in his vocation; but the Baptists combined the doctrines of Calvin and the principle of toleration which their Orthodox brethren, who were disciples of the same great teacher and more in harmony with him in respect to discipline, regarded as a sin against God and a crime against society. The persistence of the Baptists in avowing this great principle against the buffetings of opposition and under the terrors of oppression, without a logical foundation for it in their creed, is one of the most remarkable solecisms in all history.

The following letter from the Chief-Justice of the United States accepting membership in the Society has been received by the Corresponding Secretary: —

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 31, 1893.

DEAR SIR, — It gives me sincere pleasure to accept the honor paid me in my election as an Honorary Member of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, with whose purposes I entirely sympathize.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MELVILLE W. FULLER.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS, Esq.
Cambridge, Mass.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1893.

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Tuesday, 21 November, 1893, at half-past five o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Dr. BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD, in the chair.

On calling the meeting to order, Dr. GOULD spoke as follows : —

In welcoming you to this, our first Annual Meeting, let me offer congratulations upon the exceptionally encouraging auspices under which the Society has begun its career, and upon the well-founded hopes which its progress during the brief period of its existence justifies us in expecting from its future. Its aims are patriotic, scholastic, and social; and the limitations imposed by the conditions for its membership promise to increase, without restricting, its opportunities for usefulness.

Out of one hundred Resident Members, to which its number is limited, there have been elected sixty-five during the year 1893, in addition to the fourteen original corporators, — making seventy-nine in all. It has appeared desirable that much deliberation should be used before reaching the prescribed limit; but the list of nominations is kept by the Secretary, as provided in the Second Chapter of the By-laws, and is always open for additions by any member, and for confidential inspection. But even during our short corporate existence, four of the eighty-one have been removed from among us. Two, who had expressed their cordial interest in the new Society, and their approval of its purposes, were unable to perfect their membership, so brief was their last illness. Bishop Phillips Brooks, elected at our first Stated Meeting, died only five days later; and Mr. William Sigourney Otis, elected at the April Meeting, died on the very next day. In addition to these great losses, the Society has suffered two other irreparable ones by the lamented deaths of our public-spirited citizen, Mr. Frederick Lothrop Ames, and our great American historian, Dr. Francis Parkman, whose name suffices to shed lustre

upon any roll where he inscribed it. We shall cherish their honored memories, and keep them green.

The Council has designated the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall to prepare a memoir of Mr. Ames, and Mr. Edward Wheelwright to perform the same loving service for Mr. Parkman.

A Report of the activity of the Society during the year will be presented by the Council, and may indeed be gathered from the first instalment of its Publications, already in your hands.

Let me renew my felicitations upon the abundant promise of usefulness for the Society in its several spheres of activity, and invoke your individual aid in promoting the ends for which we are associated.

After the record of the last meeting had been read and approved, the Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall regretting that ill health would prevent his serving longer as an officer of the Society.

The Report of the Council was presented and read by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

It is the duty of the Council to submit a Report to the Annual Meeting, showing the condition of the Society. Under ordinary circumstances it is apparent that this Report should contain a statement of the events which have affected the interests of the Society during the year. It happens, however, this year, that the first number of our Transactions has come into the hands of the members so recently that it would seem to be a work of supererogation to recapitulate what is there so fully set forth. In preference to making a formal digest of the current history of the Society from that pamphlet, the Council content themselves with the assertion that its pages contain an accurate history of the work of the Society during the first year of its existence.

The Report of the Treasurer is submitted herewith. It will be understood that the balance which the Treasurer reports as being on hand to-day will be considerably reduced when the bills for printing the first number of our Transactions shall be presented. Voluntary contributions were received from a number of gentle-

men who were specially interested in securing the publication of these papers, and who wished to see in print the Royal Commissions presented to the Society by our associate, Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr. These contributions, however, were inadequate to meet the entire expenses of the publications, and it must be expected that a less favorable report will be presented at the next Annual Meeting.

It will be observed that the Society has received from Mr. Quincy A. Shaw a gift of one hundred dollars as an expression of his sympathy with its objects and work. By vote of the Council this gift was at once made the nucleus of a Permanent Fund, the income only of which will be used toward defraying the cost of our publications. By a subsequent vote of the Council, the sum of one hundred dollars was transferred to this Fund from the balance of cash in the treasury at the close of the fiscal year. It is suggested that a similar course be pursued at the close of each year, and that all unrestricted small gifts or legacies to the Society be added to this Fund. In this way such persons as may wish to aid our work, but are unable to give large sums for that purpose, will be encouraged to contribute to our permanent endowment.

The Council at an early period reached the conclusion that it was desirable to inaugurate the policy of publishing in serial form the proceedings of the several meetings of the Society, and, with more or less fulness, as occasion may suggest, the papers read at these meetings. It was thought best that the general title of all our publications, irrespective of their contents, should be, the "Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts;" but that the contents of the several volumes ought to be classified under the sub-titles, "Transactions" and "Collections." It was determined that the publications should be uniform, and the size adopted is that known as the royal octavo. It is intended that the standard for size of the volumes of Transactions shall be about 500 pages. As far as practicable, the same rule will be applied to the Collections. The volumes bearing the sub-title "Transactions" will contain: all proccedings, communications, and papers read at meetings, except such special matter as may, for some exceptional reason, be deemed more suitable for classification under the other sub-title. Those entitled "Collections" will contain: selections from the archives of the Society, reprints, or other matter not properly to be included in the Transactions. So far as deter-

mined upon at present, Volume I. of the Publications will be devoted to Transactions. Volume II. will be a volume of Collections, and will contain the Royal Commissions to the Provincial Governors and their Instructions, copies of which are now in the archives of the Society in manuscript form. The pamphlet already issued constitutes a part of Volume I. The plates from which the illustrations were printed belong to our associate, Mr. Goodell, who has generously permitted us to use them.

Those who examine the paper read at our February meeting will discover through the foot-notes that since that paper was submitted, several new historical societies have been organized or incorporated. There is probably enough of interest in the subject to justify the publication from time to time of additional information relative to historical societies in Massachusetts. The list of existing societies given in the number of our Transactions already issued will furnish a basis for any person interested in the subject, upon which he can build. Errors may be discovered, and new information is sure to come; these ought in some way to be revealed to the student through our Indexes, and this result can in turn be secured by watchfulness on the part of our members. Reports to our meetings of the organization of new societies will secure a record and mention in the Index.

The Council would call the attention of the members of the Society to a curious illustration offered by our own proceedings, of the manner in which the concentration of attention of different individuals upon an historical topic tends to develop knowledge in that direction. Mr. Davis, in his paper, referred to the curious fact that the date and the circumstances of the landing, in the eighteenth century, of the Palatines on Block Island, were shrouded in doubt. Much attention has been attracted to the shipwreck or disaster which brought to that spot a number of Palatine emigrants, yet neither the time of the event nor the attendant circumstances were known. This mystery seized upon the imagination of the Islanders, and the stories of the Palatine Ship and the Palatine Light have become a part of the folk-lore of Block Island. The reference made in that paper to the fact that the writer had seen in the Colman correspondence, in a letter without date, an allusion to some shipwrecked Palatines, called forth a communication from our associate, Mr. Henry H. Edes, at the next ensuing

meeting; and a reference to the notes on one of the pages where that communication appears will show that this chance allusion has probably removed all historical doubts concerning the unfortunate Palatines.

It affords the Council great satisfaction to report that a place has been secured at which the Stated Meetings of the Society will be held during the ensuing year. Application was made by the Council to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for the use of their Hall, and this privilege was accorded to the Society by a unanimous vote of the Academy.

There are at present seventy-seven Resident Members of this Society. It had been the hope of the Council that they might report to the Society that we had accomplished the first year of our existence with the full number of those who had accepted membership in the Society still upon our Roll, but such has not been our fortune. The first printed Roll of Members does not contain the name of him who was pre-eminently the man of affairs among the many busy men who have linked their names with the fate of this Society. Few of us realized, until we read the obituary notices which accompanied the announcement of the death of Frederick Lothrop Ames, how vast was the field of business which demanded his attention, and how numerous the organizations in the management of whose affairs he might claim a supervising voice. That he should have found time in the midst of so many pressing engagements to give to Harvard College the benefit of his counsel as a member of the Corporation, is a wonder which increases as we measure the extent of his responsibilities, and is a tribute to his continued loyalty to the college from which he received his degree. It was only through his death that the secret was disclosed that he was the unknown benefactor who had proposed, regardless of cost, to erect a new Library and Reading-Room at Cambridge. It was thoroughly in keeping with the man that the knowledge of this great proposed benefaction, work upon the details of which occupied much of his time during the last few weeks of his life, should have been absolutely concealed so long as his presence was here to guard the secret. We cannot flatter ourselves that his membership of this Society could have called forth any original contributions to our meetings. His time was too much absorbed to have permitted its occupation for this purpose; but we know that we had

his cordial sympathy, and while we realize that this is not the place to pronounce his eulogy, we cannot refrain from saying that we deeply deplore his loss.

After a portion of the first number of our Transactions had actually gone to press, death again invaded our ranks. The Society lost from its list of Resident Members the name of Francis Parkman, the foremost historian of America. The marvellous power of condensation which enabled Parkman to give the results of a lifetime of application in the few volumes which comprise the list of his publications, and the felicity of expression which gave to these volumes a charm which ranked them in popular esteem alongside the productions of the most brilliant writers of fiction, were gifts with which the man was originally endowed. We may study these, but we cannot hope to imitate them. His insight led him, as a young man, to select as a topic for his life-work a field of history in which but little labor had at that time been performed. To fit himself for this work, he made a minute survey of the region about which he proposed to write, familiarized himself with frontier life, studied the habits of the natives, and carefully examined the topographical features of spots where events had occurred the story of which he intended to tell. The value of his narrative was largely enhanced by the manner in which he approached his subject. If we cannot hope to imitate his marvellous diction, nor to rival his sagacity in selecting essential facts from an unassorted mass, yet we may recognize his works as models, and may draw a lesson from the persistency of purpose with which, undeterred by physical disabilities, he steadily pursued the task which he had set for himself.

The Council are of opinion that something ought to be said relative to the meetings which we propose to hold during the coming year. We are as yet engaged in laying the foundation-stones upon which the superstructure of the Society's reputation is to be reared. Whatever of fame we are to acquire must be gained from the character and tone of our proceedings. It is of the utmost consequence that our meetings should be well attended; and in order that they may be, it is important that there should be at least one original communication ready for submission at each meeting. It is desirable that the Council should know in advance what they may expect in this direction; and it will be of great assistance if members who have papers already prepared, or in process of prepa-

ration, which they intend to read before the Society, will communicate their intentions to the Council.

An analysis of our Roll of Membership will disclose the fact that a large proportion of our members are men whose time is absorbed by the demands of professional activity; they possess the tastes essential for the purpose, they are perhaps familiar with topics which they would like to elaborate, but they have not the time in which to do it. We find others whose daily occupations must inevitably bring them in contact with many questions the development of which would be of interest both to them and to us; but unfortunately, they too are busy men, and may not be able to spare the time necessary for the preparation of papers adapted to the wants of our meetings. With regard to members thus situated, while we cannot insist that they shall make any great sacrifice in the service of this Society, yet we trust that circumstances will permit them to identify themselves as active members with the name and fame which we hope to establish for it. They will readily appreciate the fact that specialists can treat history topically with results not to be obtained by the general writer. We have, unfortunately, but too few upon our Roll who have at their command both time and inclination for the preparation of papers. We therefore urge upon all to lend a hand in maintaining the interest of our meetings.

It will be observed that we have still a number of vacancies to fill before the limit of our membership is reached. The delay upon the part of the Council in presenting the names of candidates for these vacancies has been deliberate. It has been felt that our numbers ought in the main to be increased by the election of men actively interested in historical studies, and preferably by those who may be expected to attend our meetings. Our Society covers the entire Commonwealth, while our meetings are held only in Boston. The necessity for representation at meetings has up to the present time influenced us in the selection of members largely from the immediate vicinity of Boston. It is obviously desirable that we should have local representatives from all parts of the Commonwealth. Bearing in mind the necessities of the situation as above pointed out, it is evident that if the Council should adhere to the policy suggested, some little time must elapse before these vacancies will all be filled.

On recommendation of the Council, it was unanimously

Voted, That the cordial thanks of this Society be returned to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for its friendly courtesy in affording the use of its Hall for our regular meetings during the coming season, and for the gratifying unanimity with which the favor was accorded.

The Reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were then submitted.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his first Annual Report, made up to 21 November, 1893: —

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Initiation Fees	$790.00	
Commutations of Annual Assessment from three Members	300.00	
Interest	30.65	
Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw	100.00	
Contributions from sixteen Members towards the cost of our Publications	645.00	
		$1,865.65

EXPENDITURES AND INVESTMENT.

In procuring Incorporation	$24.20	
John Andrew & Son Co., Drawing the Seal and Engraving it on Wood	30.00	
Henry Mitchell, Engraving the Seal on Steel, etc.	64.50	
Clerical Service	64.40	
University Press, Printing	102.00	
Heliotype Printing Company	19.00	
Record Books and Stationery	57.50	
Miscellaneous incidentals	35.15	
		$396.75

Mortgage on Improved Real Estate in Cambridge, assessed for $5,100, due in five years, from 10 May, 1893, at 6 per cent, both principal and interest payable in gold coin	500.00
[The three Commutations, Mr. Shaw's gift, and $100 transferred to the Publication Fund from the free cash in the Treasury are invested in this mortgage.]	
Balance on deposit in Third National Bank of Boston	968.90
	$1,865.65

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	$968.90	
Mortgages	500.00	
		$1,468.90

CREDITS.

Income	$342.90	
Publications	626.00	
Commutations	300.00	
Publication Fund	200.00	
		$1,468.90

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, 21 November, 1893.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, for the year ending 21 November, 1893, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investment and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us.

WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.,
JOSHUA M. SEARS,
Committee.

BOSTON, 21 November, 1893.

The Nominating Committee presented, through Mr. Francis C. Lowell, the following list of names for officers for the ensuing year; and a ballot being taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected: —

PRESIDENT.

BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

JOHN LOWELL.
WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

TREASURER.

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

REGISTRAR.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS.

HENRY PARKER QUINCY.

Mr. Lowell, on behalf of the Nominating Committee, offered the following votes, which were unanimously adopted: —

Voted, That we regret the condition of the health of the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, which has deprived us so often of the pleasure of his presence during the past year, and which now constrains him to signify his wish not to be renominated for the office of Vice-President; and that we cherish the hope that his restoration to perfect health and to the performance of the social duties in which he has been conspicuously happy, may be not long delayed.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be given to JOHN CHESTER INCHES, Esq., for his valuable services during the past year as a member of the Council. While recording our appreciation of these services, and of the substantial aid he has rendered to the Society in carrying on its work, we would further express our earnest hope that he may be speedily restored to health, and so enable us to enjoy the benefit of a renewal of his active interest in our proceedings.

After the dissolution of the meeting dinner was served to the members. Dr. GOULD presided, Bishop LAWRENCE invoked the Divine blessing, and speeches were made by Mr. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, Governor RUSSELL, Mr. Justice LATHROP, Mr. JAMES B. THAYER, and Mr. HENRY H. EDES. There were no invited guests.

The Annual Meeting of the Society commemorates the day on which the Compact was signed in the cabin of the Mayflower.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1893.

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on Wednesday, 20 December, 1893, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Dr. Gould in the chair.

After the record of the Annual Meeting had been read, the Hon. Grover Cleveland and the Hon. Edward John Phelps were elected Honorary Members.

The following-named gentlemen were elected Resident Members: —

Joseph Henry Allen. Archibald Murray Howe.
George Lincoln Goodale. Edward Francis Johnson.
Edward William Hooper. George Otis Shattuck.
George Fox Tucker.

Mr. Henry E. Woods remarked that Mr. Davis, in his paper on Historical Work in Massachusetts, had omitted to mention the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and added that the Society, although not incorporated, had a Massachusetts organization, which was effected 19 April, 1889. Mr. Woods further stated that the Massachusetts branch of this Society had issued, in August, 1889, a document showing the number of troops from each state enlisted in the Revolution, and, in the present year, a volume containing its By-Laws, and lists of Officers and Members; and that the Society had caused to be manufactured an iron and a bronze "marker" for the graves of soldiers of the Revolution.

Mr. Davis said that he was aware of the existence of the Society at the time when his paper was published, but he had not then seen its purposes as set forth in the sepa-

rate organization of the Massachusetts branch, nor any of its publications. He felt that the Society deserved the same recognition that he had already accorded to those of a quasi-historical character.[1]

Mr. William W. Goodwin then spoke as follows concerning the Lady Mowlson scholarship: —

The catalogue of Harvard University, which was published yesterday, announces for the first time that the Lady Mowlson scholarship is open to undergraduates. The income of the scholarship is to be $200 a year, — the principal set apart for its foundation being $5,000. In giving the history of this scholarship, I shall only repeat what I have learned from our associate, Mr. Davis, who has had the good fortune to rescue from oblivion the records of the earliest scholarship given to Harvard College.

In the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at its Annual Meeting, in October, 1887, Mr. Davis gave an account of the early history of that scholarship, so far as it was then known. This paper is entitled "The First Scholarship at Harvard College." Certain details are there given concerning the journey of three Americans — Messrs. Peters, Weld, and Hibbins — to England, in 1641, who went on "some weighty occasions for the good of the country." It appears that, as a result of their mission, £150 was granted to the library of Harvard College. Among other funds which were collected, Mr. Weld reports that Lady Mowlson gave him for a scholarship £100. This is the amount mentioned in Lady Mowlson's deed of gift,[2] dated 9 May, 1643, a copy of which, taken from the archives of Harvard College, has been reproduced for our Transactions. Although given in 1643, the money was kept, until 1713, in the country treasury, where the fund was increased by

[1] Among the purposes of the "Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution" are "the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution, and the publication of its results, the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the services of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots."

[2] The text of this document has been printed in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1887, N. S. v. 132–133; and in the New England Magazine for February, 1894, ix. 779.

other gifts to £162 16*s.* 4*d.*, on which sum an interest of £15 per annum was paid to the College until 1685. The payment of interest stopped in 1685; but when the fund was paid to the treasurer of Harvard College, in 1713, the Province generously added £263 14*s.* for interest, making the whole amount then received by the College £426 10*s.* 4*d.*

The second paper which Mr. Davis published is entitled "The Exhibitions of Harvard College prior to 1800," which appeared in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1892. In this article it was announced that Mr. John Ward Dean, the Editor of the Register, had discovered that Thomas Mowlson was Lord Mayor of London in 1634, and that he was knighted in June of the same year.[1] Although there was then no direct clue to the relationship between him and Lady Mowlson, it appeared that in 1614 a certain Thomas Moulson attended a meeting of the Court of Assistants of the Grocers' Company in London, which was inter-

[1] Since Professor Goodwin made the above communication to the Society the following additional references to Alderman Mowlson have been gleaned from the Calendar of State Papers: —

December, 1626. Thomas Moulson, appointed one of the Commissioners for French Goods, to the Mayor of Plymouth. (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1625–1626, p. 511.)

27 January, 1627. A letter dated at Westminster was addressed to the Commissioners, the name of Thomas Moulson being included. "By commission, dated December 8 last past, the persons now addressed were appointed Commissioners to arrest all French ships and goods in England, and authority was given to the Lord Admiral to direct the king's ships to stay French ships which they found at sea. The king directs that ships stayed at sea are not to be dealt with by the Commissioners, but to remain in the custody of the Lord Admiral." (*Ibid.* 1627–1628, p. 32.)

22 July, 1628. The petition exhibited to the king by Robert Alt, on behalf of the poor spectacle-makers, was read to the Court of Aldermen, and Alderman Moulson was appointed one of a Committee, the other members being the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and the Sheriffs, to whom the petition was referred with instructions to consider the conveniency or inconveniency thereof. (*Ibid.* 1628–1629, p. 226.)

8 October, 1633. The Lord Mayor, in obedience to an order of the Council of 29 May last, reported that he had made inquiry of all such persons as since the last certificate had come to lodge (termers excepted) in London. The certificates as to the several wards accompanied this report. Among them was the following from Alderman Thomas Mowlson: No lodgers in Broad Street Ward. 20 June, 1633. (*Ibid.* 1633–1634, p. 237.)

ested in American ventures, thus at least connecting one of the same name with American affairs.

In the third paper published by Mr. Davis in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1892, entitled, "The Lady Mowlson Scholarship at Cambridge," it was stated that Mr. Henry F. Waters, the genealogist, now in London, by an original investigation discovered that Sir Thomas Mowlson died about 1638, leaving a widow, Dame Ann Mowlson, who was alive in 1643. This discovery gave rise to a strong presumption, borne out by further investigation, that the widow of Sir Thomas Mowlson was the Lady Mowlson who gave the scholarship to Harvard.

Further investigation brought out the wills of both Sir Thomas and Lady Mowlson. Abstracts of these wills were published by Mr. Waters in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1893. It appears that in her will Lady Mowlson leaves a bequest to her nephew, Mr. Anthony Radcliffe, "son of my brother, Mr. Edward Radcliffe, deceased." From this it may be assumed that the maiden name of Lady Mowlson was Ann Radcliffe.[1]

The signature to Lady Mowlson's deed of gift is witnessed by Mr. Arthur Barnardiston, who is described in her will as a son of her niece, Lady Thornton. This seems to show that Lady Mowlson's gift to Harvard College met with the approval of her family. Her husband in his will leaves a bequest to his "cousin,"

[1] Mr. Henry F. Waters has forwarded to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, an abstract of the will of Anthony Radcliffe, a brother of Lady Mowlson. This abstract will appear in the Waters Gleanings in the April, 1894, number of the Register. The will was proved 25 June, 1628. Alderman Moulson, his well beloved brother-in-law, was appointed his sole and only executor.

From this document it appears that the testator had three sisters, — Dorothy, who was married to a Gerrard, and who was probably the mother of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, of Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex, Baronet, a legatee under Lady Mowlson's will; Elizabeth, who was married to a Harvey, and who may perhaps be connected with Lady Mowlson's will through one of the legatees, Mr. Cary Mildmay, otherwise Harvey, of Marks, in Essex; and Anne Moulson, who, as we have seen, herself signs her name Ann Mowlson.

In this will the testator expresses the desire that his body should be buried in the parish church of Harrow, "Where the Bodyes of my Father and Mother and divers of my Friends lye buried."

Anthony Radcliffe, who is probably the same person mentioned in Lady Mowlson's will.

Our associate, Mr. Toppan, has contributed an interesting item concerning Lady Mowlson which he found in the "Calendar of the Committee for Compoundings," etc. (Domestic, 1643–1660, Part I. 780), under date 3 May, 1643, which is as follows: —

"Lady Ann Moulson — sum lent towards the £20,000 to be sent to the Scottish army in the North as part of the £50,000 due by treaty to be paid 4 Sept. next with interest — £600 0*s.* 0*d.*" [1]

Another document, recently discovered at the State House, adds an incident in the history of this scholarship. The Sewall scholarship at Harvard College is based upon a gift of land given by Judge Samuel Sewall to the College, in 1696. A Memorial has been found in the Massachusetts Archives (Literary, LVIII. 181), which is as follows: —

A MEMORIAL.

Whereas I have lately given unto Harvard Colledge by Deed under hand & Seal, Five Hundred Acres of Land lying in the Narraganset Country near Mr. Alborough's [2]

[1] The gift of £100 to Harvard College and the subscription of £600 to the loan raised to pay the Scottish army, are perhaps evidence enough that Lady Mowlson was a woman of means; but the following item taken from the Calendar of State Papers shows not only that she had large sums to lend, but that she was not disposed tamely to acquiesce in the illegal detention of her funds by others: —

(5 *May*, 1652. *Council of State. Days Proceedings.*)

"Order on the report of the examination of Wm. Abel, late alderman of London, concerning dangerous words against the public peace lately spoken by him in Northall Woods, near Hatfield Co., Herts. That it appears that Abel has been prisoner to Sir John Lenthall since 12 March last, at the suits of Ann, relict of Sir Thos. Moulson, for 1,500*l.*, borrowed for the use of the Vintners' Company. Also of the executors of Thos. Hammond for 1000*l*, and of Richard Woodward, merchant, for 600*l.* for the same business."

[2] This reference, undoubtedly, is to John Alborough, or Albro, with whom Judge John Saffin had a contention in 1679 concerning the title of lands in King's Province, then claimed both by Massachusetts and Rhode Island. (Rhode Island Colonial Records, iii. 75.) Alborough was very prominent in Rhode Island affairs. He rose to the rank of Major in the militia; was a Commissioner for Portsmouth, where he resided, in 1660 (*Ibid.* i. 437); was appointed, 10 November, 1679, with John Smith, to survey and ascertain the boundary line between Rhode Island and Connecticut (*Ibid.* iii. 73); served

If this Honble Court shall see meet to grant a Suitable Sum of the Lady Moulson's Money towards the building a House on sd Tract of Land, that it may be rendred capable of yielding an annual Income to said Colledge, I shall be thereby gratified & honoured, who am

Your Honours humble Servt

*Novemb^r^* 30, 1698. Sam Sewall.

In his History of Harvard University (I. 512), Quincy mentions a gift of five hundred acres of land at Petaquamscott[1] by Samuel Sewall and Hannah Sewall his wife, in 1696, at which time the Province was holding the Lady Mowlson fund.

The discovery of Lady Mowlson's maiden name, Ann Radcliffe, is likely to prove very important at the present time, in an unexpected way. In view of the new relations between the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women and Harvard University, it is thought desirable that the name of the former corporation should be changed, and a petition is to be sent to the Legislature of Massachusetts, asking that the institution be incorporated as Radcliffe College.

Mr. G. Arthur Hilton presented to the Society two documents that had been given to him by his uncle, the late Hon. Samuel Crocker Cobb, and which were found among the papers of General David Cobb in the old family mansion at Taunton: —

The original minutes of the Bristol County Convention, held at Taunton 28 and 29 September, 1774, made by the Secretary, Dr. David Cobb.

frequently as a Deputy to the General Assembly; and later was an Assistant of the Colony. In 1686 he was appointed to a seat in Andros's Council, and attended its first meeting, in Boston, 20 December of that year (*Ibid.* iii. 219–220). Savage says he died 14 December, 1712, aged 95 years.

[1] Petaquamscott was within the limits of Old Kingston, R. I., and probably in that part of the town set off in 1723 and now known as South Kingston. There is a neck of land on the shore of Narragansett Bay, and within the limits of this town, still known as "Boston Neck," and as it is bounded on the west by Petaquamscott River, it is possible that it is identical with Sewall's tract. On 19 September, 1699, Sewall writes: "Goe with Tho. Hazard to Mattoonuck, view the bounds and add to the heaps of Stones at 3 Corners. Go back and lodge on Boston Neck at Tho. Hazard's" (Diary, i. 501). As Mattoonuck is immediately south of Kingston, this entry may refer to the land given, in 1696, to the College.

The original minutes of the Convention of Delegates of Bristol County, held at Taunton 4 and 5 January, 1775.

Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., having been called upon, made the following remarks: —

Mr. President: I cheerfully comply with Mr. Hilton's request by calling your attention particularly to the first paper presented by him, it being the original minutes of the Bristol County convention held at Taunton on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth days of September, 1774, for the purpose of determining what course of action should be recommended by the convention to the several towns in the county in view of the recent Acts of Parliament, for closing the port of Boston,[1] for better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay,[2] and for the impartial administration of justice there.[3] The other paper, being the record of the doings of a similar convention held at Taunton on the fourth and fifth of January, 1775, I will, with your permission, reserve for another occasion.

The chief interest of the first paper is the light it throws upon the motives which induced the formation of the first Provincial Congress, and the steps by which the Congress was evolved. It will be remembered that after the dissolution of the first Assembly of 1774, held at Salem, which, contrary to the Governor's wishes, had chosen delegates to the Continental Congress, Gage issued writs for convening a new Assembly in the same town on the fifth of October, and that upon the receipt of further advices from England he by proclamation revoked these writs a week before the day appointed for the beginning of the session. Since his new advices covered a list of councillors selected by the Crown and appointed by *mandamus*, in conformity to the Act of Parliament for better regulating the Government of Massachusetts Bay, and directly against the provisions of the charter of the province, and since such of the *mandamus* councillors as had not resigned or declined to accept the appointment were virtually refugees, under the protection of the army in Boston, it was not very likely that the Governor would reconsider his proclamation and endeavor to meet the deputies with his new councillors at his heels, even if his whole military

[1] 14 Geo. III. chap. 19. [2] *Ibid.* chap. 39. [3] *Ibid.* chap. 45.

force were sufficiently strong to escort them safely to Salem; and to have disregarded his instructions by recognizing the old councillors chosen at the previous May election would have cost him his commission, if not his life. But notwithstanding this improbability, ninety deputies assembled according to the call, and after waiting in vain two days for the Governor's appearance, resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and adjourned, to meet, at Concord on the twelfth of the same month, certain other delegates specially appointed to attend a congress there. The congress at Salem was organized by the choice of John Hancock as chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln as clerk, and these officers were rechosen at Concord, — the former as President and the latter as Secretary.

On the occasion of celebrating the centennial anniversary of this event at Salem, I had the honor to prepare an address, which was published by the Essex Institute, before which it was delivered, and printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register as the first of a series of centennial addresses delivered in 1874 and 1875. In that address I endeavored to emphasize the fact that this first authoritative revolt against the unconstitutional Acts of Parliament dates from the seventh of October, at Salem, and not from the twelfth, at Concord, as had been generally represented. Up to the time of this Congress, and indeed until the spring of 1776, allegiance to the dominion of Great Britain was unequivocally avowed and faithfully maintained. Even the sanguinary conflicts at Lexington and Bunker Hill were but armed protests against the unconstitutional Acts of Parliament enforced by a partisan ministry. Later, however, when it became evident that there was no hope of redress from Parliament, the high officers of the Crown, nor the king himself, there was no alternative but ignominious submission, or revolution; and independence was therefore declared. I will not attempt here to go over that ground in detail. It is sufficient for the present purpose to call attention to the circumspect manner in which our fathers proceeded in every step in their dealings with the mother country.

Before the idea of a Provincial Congress was broached, it was a matter of grave consideration how political co-operation by representation should be brought about. The assembling of freeholders in a town-meeting called by the Selectmen without the consent of the Governor was prohibited by the Act of Parliament. There was,

however, no express prohibition of county conventions, nor was the choice of delegates thereto forbidden, if made by the freeholders assembled voluntarily, or upon an unofficial call. Hence these artifices were resorted to to avoid any premature conflict with Parliament or with the royal Governor. Conventions were accordingly held in Worcester on the ninth of August (and on the thirty-first, by adjournment); in Middlesex, on the thirtieth and thirty-first of August; in Essex, on the sixth and seventh of September; in Suffolk, on the sixth of September; in Cumberland, on the twenty-first of September; in Hampden, on the twenty-second and twenty-third of September; in Plymouth, on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of September; and in Bristol (the convention the original report of the doings of which Mr. Hilton has presented to us), on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of September. A similar convention was held in Berkshire as early as the sixth of July, but not for the same purpose.

The resolves of the Suffolk convention followed those of Worcester and Middlesex in recommending that a provincial meeting or convention be held at Concord on the second Tuesday of October, but designated the body as a "Provincial Congress." The resolutions of the Essex convention, which assembled on the same day with the Suffolk convention, declared it to be the opinion of the delegates that the representatives elected to the General Court should properly form such Provincial Congress, and recommended that the deputies be instructed by their constituents to resolve themselves into a Congress (if when assembled they should deem it necessary or expedient), "in order to consult and determine on such measures as they judge will tend to promote the true interests of his Majesty, and the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the province." These resolutions, of course, had not transpired when the Suffolk resolutions were adopted; but on the twenty-second of September the town of Boston, impressed with the superior prudence of the course recommended by the Essex convention (in that it aimed at keeping the organization as closely conformable to the law as possible), adopted this course in their instructions to the Boston representatives; and Bristol, among other counties, followed the example of Boston.

Now, in the reports of these conventions as collected by Mr. William Lincoln, and published by the State in 1838, this later

action of the town of Boston is not given, and as the Bristol resolutions there printed show only in general terms that the convention adopted the "measures and resolutions" of Suffolk, it does not there appear that Bristol approved the Essex plan. The paper before us shows — in the very words in which it was written — that a resolve was adopted, approving the Suffolk resolutions, and that, at the same time, the recommendation in the seventh resolution of the Essex convention was adopted. It therefore appears that the course recommended to the towns of Bristol was that they choose representatives to the General Court at Salem on the fifth of October, rather than delegates to the Provincial Congress to be held at Concord a week later.

No less than six of the Resolves in these Minutes are omitted from the list printed by Lincoln. I have not examined the contemporaneous newspapers to ascertain if he followed their version, but I infer that he was satisfied that some, if not most, of the reports that he printed were imperfect, from the statement in his introduction that they were "unfortunately less full, but the most complete which could be obtained." I will endeavor to point out the resemblances and differences of the Resolves found in this paper, and in Lincoln's report, when these remarks are going through the press, for our Transactions, if agreeable to the Committee of Publication.[1]

An interesting feature of the Bristol Resolutions is the one in which the Convention expresses its determination to use "utmost endeavors to discountenance and suppress all mobs, riots, and breaches of the peace," and to "afford all the protection in our power to the persons and properties of our loyal fellow-subjects." This is in keeping with the sentiment generally entertained by the wisest patriots and the best men of that day. In my researches among the local as well as the provincial records of the time, I find this feeling more general and hearty than I had suspected. Let me read you a vote which I received from the town clerk of Wilbraham not long ago, showing how zealous the freeholders of that patriotic town were for the observance of law and the preservation of order. At a town-meeting held on the twenty-ninth of July, 1774, it was —

[1] See page 176 *et seq.*

Resolved, That we are of the opinion that the many Mobs & riotous practises that have been amongst us have Been So far from helping the Common Cause of Liberty that they have retarded it & we do for our Selves abhor Such practise & recommend the Contrary to all our fellow Subjects & Every frind to America prefering the modarate peaceable & Steady persuance of Some proper means for Redress with Dependance upon a divine Benidiction.

I cannot but feel that the views now current of the wisdom and praiseworthiness of some violent proceedings attending and preceding the Revolution are not in accord with the sincere convictions of all the best men of that period. It is doing a great injustice to the sober, sensible men who thought out, and wrought out, the problem of independence, to impute to them responsibility for, or sympathy with, such lawless proceedings as the affray in King Street, resulting in the so-called Boston Massacre, and the destruction of the tea in 1773. I, for one, protest against giving laudable prominence to these incidents which had no logical connection with independence, and which, as historical events, must be regarded rather as having retarded than hastened the triumph of the American cause. Why should those acts, which were confessedly in violation of the very laws which our fathers enacted and endeavored to enforce, and which were perpetrated years before the idea of independence was entertained, and were generally deplored by the most earnest protesters against British oppression, — why should those violations of law be brought into prominence in our school-books, and commemorated in public declamation and by monuments? Why is it that the grand and glorious example which our fathers set to us and to the world, in their orderly progress to peace, and truth, and victory over oppression, is overlaid by this deceptive glamour? When I think of what we are suppressing or neglecting in order to exult over indefensible conduct, it brings to mind Byron's apostrophe to the degenerate Greeks: —

> "You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet,
> Where is the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?
> Of two such lessons, why forget
> The nobler and the manlier one?"

I am not unmindful of the fact that those turbulent proceedings have been applauded and pronounced important by some

of the great men of the Revolution, and by none, perhaps, more emphatically than by John Adams. But this approval should be received with some discrimination. As for Mr. Adams, it should be known that he was impulsive, and apt to express himself strongly at times without much regard to consistency with his former declarations. He was, also, intensely impressed with the importance of any event in which he was particularly concerned or interested. In regard to the Boston Massacre, he may be quoted on both sides; because when he viewed the event as a politician, he could not free himself from the contagion of popular excitement, and when he viewed it as a political philosopher, or as a lawyer remembering that it was the foundation of his chief triumph in defence of an unpopular client, nobody has exceeded him in vehement denunciation of the mob in that fatal encounter for which he knew the aggressors had no just provocation. As to the origin of our national independence, it is curious to notice how Mr. Adams's mind was wafted about by the winds of variable public opinion or affected by changes of moods and by difference of circumstances; thus, at one time, he says of Otis's argument on the legality of the writs of assistance: —

"American independence was then and there born." [1]

And again, of the Boston Massacre: —

"On that night the foundation of American independence was laid." [2]

And still again, on the destruction of the tea: —

"This is the most magnificent movement of all. . . . I cannot but consider it as an epocha in history." [3]

Doubtless if the old patriot were induced to give his calm and deliberate judgment of the importance of either of these events, in comparison with the formation of the Provincial Congress, or the first sanguinary vindication of our constitutional rights at Lexington and Concord, he would frankly disclaim the intention of assigning an inferior place to the latter.

According to my apprehension, the great fact which gives dignity to the Revolution has been too much left out of sight.

[1] Life and Works of John Adams, x. 247.
[2] *Ibid.* viii. 384. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 323.

The Revolution was the rising of the people, in the exercise of their constitutional right, against unconstitutional legislation. It was the taking up of arms against two, or at most three, unconstitutional Acts of Parliament. I am told that our young lawyers at Harvard, in their study of constitutional law, are just now greatly interested in the question of the power of the judiciary to control legislation. In this pursuit they will find it most profitable to consider those great fundamental principles which our fathers held to be inviolable, and for the maintenance of which they resorted to arms. It is seldom, even now and in this land of written constitutions, that a lawyer has the courage to attempt to argue for the judicial subversion of a law that has once received judicial recognition, even though he deems that law in conflict with the spirit of the Constitution or with natural and inalienable rights. But our fathers, being deprived of a proper forum in which to get unconstitutional legislation nullified, resorted to arms as their only constitutional remedy. They denied the obligation of Acts of Parliament passed *ultra vires*, and they set them aside at the point of the bayonet, — a decision certainly as conclusive as the judgment of any court. This assertion of the right of the people to war against unconstitutional legislation was not a novelty, but is specially noticeable in this case because out of it grew the first written Constitution which limited the power of the legislature, by ordaining the division of the government into the three co-ordinate branches, — the legislative, the executive, and the judicial.

To-day, the English lawyer, while ostensibly holding firmly to the doctrine of the absolute supremacy of the legislature, sometimes finds it necessary or convenient to evade the statute by giving it an interpretation different from that intended, and so avoids the bold step of declaring that it is not law. How far he has been influenced by observing the course of judicial procedure under our Constitution, I am not prepared to say. His theory will not stand in every imaginable contingency. Even the functions of *our* courts are not limited by the operation of the provisions of our written fundamental law. There may be laws which are not within the purview of the Constitution, which our courts have the right to set aside; and it is only upon this theory that some of the decisions of the courts during the formative period

of our free government can be sustained. The paper before us is one of the records of the organization of a successful struggle against unconstitutional legislation; and those records show that in the preliminary steps of that endeavor to contest effectually and to the bitter end the doctrine of the absolute omnipotence of Parliament, it was wisely determined that everything should be done under color of law, and not tumultuously or seditiously so as rashly to precipitate Civil War.

The great issue of the Revolution, then, was neither more nor less than the establishment at the cannon's mouth of the doctrine that there are laws to which even Parliament must bow, and of which the subject could not be deprived by the act of the supreme legislature. Just as the Puritans of England had taught the Throne that the king's will is not absolute, our fathers settled the law, for all time, that if redress of legislative tyranny cannot be obtained in the courts, there remains a legitimate appeal to arms and a decision by wager of battle, — which even the old common law declared a satisfactory settlement of a controversy. Our hope for the continuance of good government rests more upon the courage and wisdom of our judiciary than upon the mere suffrages of a plurality of voters. Not that the courts are to so far forget their duty as to usurp the functions of the legislature by attempting to make laws, but that they are not to hesitate to relieve against the evils of unjust legislation when they are apparent and undisputed.

In another respect our fathers achieved something far higher than political independence. They wrought a peaceful revolution in the colonial policy of Great Britain. The relations between the imperial government and its foreign dominions to-day are in conformity with the ideas put forth by those who fought for American Independence. Indeed, greater privileges are now accorded by Britain to her colonies than our fathers ever dreamed of demanding.

How important, then, to have all the steps of progress from the first incipient whisper of Colonial discontent down to the final acknowledgment of our Independence preserved and made easily accessible to our students of history, jurisprudence, and political philosophy! The printing, nearly sixty years ago, of the Journals of the Provincial Congress, together with what had then been collected of the doings of the primary conventions, was a great step towards this end. But where are the records of the various

Committees of Safety and of Correspondence? What attempt has been made to recover these, and to complete the work begun by Mr. Lincoln? Who will undertake to show the history of the evolution of that invaluable idea of curbing, through the judiciary, the power of the legislature to which, here, in imitation of the mother country, the courts had been wholly subordinate even during the progress of the Revolution? Such papers as the record before us are most useful to this end; and equally valuable and important are the records of the numerous towns, so far as they relate to public affairs during the same period.

The Rev. Edward G. Porter said: —

I am in hearty sympathy with Mr. Goodell in his effort to place the causes that led to the Revolution in their proper light. I agree with him that we have sometimes overlooked the legal elements of the question, as set forth in the conventions, and have been too willing to see only the dramatic and violent outbursts of popular feeling.

Yet when we consider what a tremendous influence those very outbursts had in shaping public sentiment and sustaining the measures formulated by the conventions, I think we must allow them a conspicuous place in our history. The Boston Massacre may have been a lamentable and utterly indefensible occurrence, but it was inevitable under the strain of feeling then existing between the citizens and the troops. It might have come a little earlier, or a little later, or in some different way, but under the existing conditions a conflict could hardly have been avoided. We need not praise riotous acts in estimating the far-reaching consequences to which they sometimes lead. Neither can we justly say, as students of history, that an event which, though it began in a street fracas, resulted in a great uprising of the town, is a puerile and insignificant event.

I do not see how we can fairly treat the pre-Revolutionary movements without giving prominence to such an affair as that in King Street. It seems to me it had a very logical connection with the subsequent independence. It certainly led to the immediate removal of the troops. The celebration of the Fifth of March was

annually observed, and with great effect, until, at the close of the war, the Fourth of July took its place.

I will only add, since we have just been celebrating the Tea Party, that I cannot quite agree with Mr. Goodell in saying that our fathers ought not to be held responsible for, or regarded as in sympathy with, the destruction of the tea on that memorable December night. Where their sympathies were, I think is evident from all the utterances of their public meetings, and all the applause which the achievement elicited. As to the responsibility, one of the amusing things about it all is that it was never known precisely who were the responsible parties. But I do not see why we should not accept the deliberate opinions of John Adams and Quincy, and Sam Adams and Cushing and Warren, and the other patriots, as to the general approval and the deep significance of that unique event. They justified the whole transaction. They said they had done everything in their power to get rid of the tea, and having failed, they had to destroy it. They would rather pay damages than duty. But the deed could not be called riotous. It was most orderly and sober. No injury was done to any other property. The town was perfectly quiet. There was no outrage, no reckless spoliation, no disturbance of the peace. I see nothing to be ashamed of in the tea business. The Committees of Correspondence seem to have approved of it heartily. We know that on our part it stirred all the Colonies to greater resistance, and on the part of Great Britain it led at once to the Port Bill, which in turn soon brought on the war.

Mr. Goodell rejoined: —

I am glad of the opportunity which a reply to the remarks of the Rev. Mr. Porter affords me, to express more fully my views of the true purpose of the Fifth-of-March orations. As I understand it, the significance of the so-called Boston Massacre was not the wanton waste of human life by the soldiery, nor the just resentment by patriotic citizens of the insult and menace which attended the presence in the town of a foreign armed force, brought hither to reduce them to slavery, nor the courage which those citizens displayed in attacking foes unarmed. Such inferences are, as I conceive, not warranted by the contemporaneous evidence,

nor by the professed purpose of the Fifth-of-March orations. The affray on that memorable evening in 1770 was indeed made the occasion for a renewal, by leading citizens, of a demand for the removal of the regular forces; and this demand was made with such spirit and vigor that Hutchinson, the acting-governor, reluctantly yielded to it, and the departure of the troops soon followed, in obedience to orders given by the military commander. Now it was this peaceful victory over an army whose boast it was that it never retreated, that was thought worthy to be annually celebrated in an oration. The scrupulous care of most of the orators not to eulogize the conduct and motives of the leaders in the affray is noticeable. Indeed, the very first of these orations expressly approves the advice of John Dickinson, the "Pennsylvania Farmer," whose patriotic pamphlets were universally read with avidity and applause, that all disorderly proceedings and breaches of the peace be avoided.

I have been unable to find any reason, or excuse, rather, for doubting that the purpose professed by the town of Boston in inaugurating the series of annual orations, was the real one, — "to impress upon our minds the ruinous tendency of standing Armies in Free Cities," [1] and the necessity of such exertions as were made by the inhabitants to effect the withdrawal of the troops.

It is a most absurd supposition that the Boston Massacre had any logical connection with the idea of personal liberty or with political independence. Even as late as 1775, Warren, in one of these very Fifth-of-March orations, distinctly disclaimed any idea of separation from the Mother Country. This was only a little more than three months before he fell at Bunker Hill. It is an undeserved reproach to suggest that he was not sincere in this disclaimer; and it is equally unjust to the memory of the patriots who composed his audience to question their sincerity in applauding his sentiments. As for the idea which seems to possess some muddled minds that Attucks was fighting for the enfranchisement of his race when he led the assault in King Street, it is enough to say that at that time not only was negro slavery an institution of the Province, and, in form, a bondage as strict if not as objectionable as that which existed under the slave code of Virginia, or of the Carolinas, but one of the chief grievances alleged

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports (Town Records), xviii. 48.

against the British troops was that some of their officers were freeing the slaves.[1]

So far from being a martyr for liberty in the common cause of his countrymen, it is not known that Attucks was a native of or domiciled in either of the Colonies. Recently it has been discovered that the name by which he is known in history, and commemorated on a public monument, appears in the finding of the coroner's inquest[2] as an *alias* for *Michael Johnson*. He was evidently a new-comer, fresh from a sea-voyage, and ready for any boisterous adventure. He is variously described as a negro, mulatto, or half-breed Indian, but never as a white man. Considering the unhappy subjection of either of these classes at that period, what possible connection has the brutal conduct of this man, partly intoxicated, and with no grievance, and no motive but a frenzied impulse caught from the surrounding excitement, at the head of a mob of boys or foolish young men — some of them of foreign birth, and bent on personal revenge — what possible connection, I ask, has his conduct with the subsequent achievement of political independence by the Anglo-Saxon sons of New England?

Now as to the Tea Party. After giving due weight to the mitigating circumstances which Mr. Porter has very justly and clearly stated, I do not think it certain that any of the patriots would have cared to have the proceeding repeated; and it seems to me that if the people engaged in that affair felt that they were doing the right thing they would scarcely have disguised themselves so effectually that it took more than a half-century of careful study and discussion to ascertain who they were. They *knew* that they were doing wrong, and that they were justly incurring penalties from which they could escape only by skulking and deception. The law-abiding public did not approve this lawlessness, notwithstanding the declarations of demagogues and writers straining for effect, and the emotional paragraph which John Adams jotted down in his Diary without much reflection or any regard to consistency. Men who court popular applause will be inconsistent. They believe, or profess to believe, one thing one day and the contrary on the next; but why should *we*, who are trying to ascertain

[1] See "The Boston Massacre," by A. C. Goodell, Jr., 1887, p. 3, reprinted from the Boston Daily Advertiser.

[2] Printed in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xliv. 282–283.

the truth, assume that, as a rule, our fathers approved of, or instigated, rioting and mobs, or trespasses against the rights of property, when by the records they have left us we see that they professed to deplore such outrages. I have not found an instance in which any prominent member of the patriotic party publicly applauded any such proceeding, where the circumstances were such as to elicit from him a perfectly candid expression of opinion, while on the other hand the protests of law-and-order men are found of record all over the State, from Essex to Berkshire. Is it beyond dispute that these acts of violence were necessary in order to bring about independence? Was there not sufficient virtue in the people to have made the importation of the tea so unprofitable, by their abstinence from indulgence in the oriental drink, as to put an end to its importation, or even to have obliged the consignees to send their cargoes back?

I am happy to believe that the views I have expressed are in harmony not only with those of the best men of the Revolution, but with those of some of our most careful students of history to-day. A few years ago that accomplished and conscientious historiographer, Dr. Samuel Eliot, expressed similar views in a short history which he prepared as a text-book for schools; and we all remember how hard our late lamented friend the venerable Dr. Peabody found it to restrain his indignation at the suggestion that lawlessness and violence were among the approved methods by which our fathers acquired independence. Yet, Mr. President, I am aware that it is the opinion of some thorough students of the Revolutionary period that the deplorable turbulences and outrages of the decade next preceding the Declaration of Independence were efficient agents in producing the final result. If I understand him clearly that recondite investigator of the history of the Revolution, — perhaps our most profound and philosophic student of the men and measures of that time, — the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, holds that these unlawful proceedings were not only inducements to the outcome of the Revolutionary War, but that such irregularities are inevitably, if not legitimately, incident to all political changes brought about by force.

I should regret to believe that there is no escape from this conclusion; but if the conclusion is unavoidable, — if we must continue to applaud the raid upon the tea-ships, — if we must single out the prowess of Crispus Attucks, in his cowardly, unprovoked

attack on men who, according to the general understanding, could not strike back without express authority from the civil magistrate, and must magnify these events so that, in grandeur, they eclipse the formation of the Committees of Correspondence and of Safety, and the organization of the Provincial Congress, or are to be classed with the glorious encounters of 1775, at Lexington and Charlestown, — I think there is little consistency in our rebuking the mob violence with which we are threatened to-day, and that the story of the Revolution is so tarnished that we should —

"Weep to record, and blush to give it in."

MINUTES OF THE BRISTOL CONVENTION OF 1774.[1]

* Dartmouth, Rehoboth, Freetown, Dighton, Swansey, Norton, Mansfield, Raynham, Berkeley, and Easton.*

[5] At a meeting of ye Gent^n^ Deligates from ye following towns in ye County of Bristol, viz Taunton * &c,* held at ye Court house in Taunton on ^a^ ∧ 28th & 29th days of Sep^tr^ 1774 to consult upon proper measures to be taken at ye present alarming Crisis of our public affairs

a the

† Zephaniah.†

† Zeph^h^ † Leonard Esqr chosen Chairman

* After having read *

† the †

a of Suffolk, Middlesex, &c.

[4] * When, after reading * ye Act of Parliament for Regulating ye Government of this Province & ye Resolves of † several † Counties, ^a^ ∧ ye following Resolutions were unanimously adopted

[1] These Minutes and those of the Bristol Convention of 4 and 5 January, 1775 (printed on pp. 255, 256, *post*), are written on seven pages of cap paper. The manuscript consists of two separate sheets: page 1 contains the Preamble and Resolve 1; page 2, Resolves 2 to 7; page 3, Resolves 8 to 11; page 4 (reversed), the paragraph which, as here printed, immediately precedes the Preamble, the rest of the page being blank; and page 5, the two Resolutions printed between Resolves 7 and 8, the three Resolutions printed between Resolves 10 and 11, and — at the bottom — the first two paragraphs above printed. These manuscript pages are indicated in the printed text by broad-faced figures enclosed in brackets. The Minutes of the Convention of 1775 fill pages 6 and 7 (reversed) of the second sheet, the eighth, and last, page of which is blank.

The words in the margin are from the Resolves of the Bristol Convention in the Appendix to the printed Journals of the Provincial Congress, and the marks of reference indicate where these words occur in the paragraph. The Resolutions are not numbered in the printed Journals, but the order in which they are printed therein is indicated in the margin by numerals enclosed in parentheses. Differences of spelling and punctuation are not noted.

[1] Whereas our Ancestors (of blessed memory) from a prudent care for themselves and a tender concern for their ~~posterity,~~ descendants did thro a series of unparallelled dangers and distresses, purchase a valuable inheritance in this western world, and carefully transmitted the same to us their posterity; and whereas for many years past we have quietly enjoyed certain Rights and Priveliges stipulated by Charter and repeatedly confirmed by royal Engagements, which Rights and priveliges are now *a* unjustly invaded by the pretended authority of *the* British Parliament, under pretext that it is inexpedient for us any longer to enjoy them, and as the same ~~wise heads~~ †who† Persons †which† found out this inexpediency will no doubt in time discover that it is inexpedient for us to enjoy any rights and even any property at all; we ‡cannot, in justice‡ therefore in Justice to ourselves & posterity, and in gratitude to our revered Ancestors, tamely stand by and suffer ~~ourselves to be stripped of~~ §wrested§ to be §rested§ from us every thing that is valuable and dear, but are resolutely determined, at the risque of our fortunes and lives to defend our natural and compacted rights, and to oppose to our utmost all illegal and unconstitutional measures which have been or may be hereafter adopted by a British parliament or a british Ministry and tho we deprecate the Evils which are naturally consequent upon a breach of that mutual affection and confidence which has subsisted betwixt Great Britain and her Colonies, yet we think it better to ~~comport with~~ suffer those Evils than voluntarily ~~to~~ submit to perpetual Slavery — We are sensible that the important Crisis before us demands the exercise of much wisdom prudence and fortitude, and we sincerely hope that all our deliberations and actions will be guided by the principles of sound Reason, and a hearty desire to promote the true Interest of the ~~whole Nation~~ British Empire — accordingly we §resolve in§ ‖manner‖ §premise§ the following ‖Resolves‖ — viz —

Journals (1)

1

[a] *Resolved.*
[b] king
[c] &c.
** Omitted in the *Journals.*
†† Omitted in the *Journals.*

[a] That we freely recognize George the third [b] of great Britain [c] as our rightfull Sovereign *(tho' not jure divino in the Sense of Laud or Sacheverel)* and as allegiance and protection are reciprocal we are determined faithfully to yield the former as long as we are allowed the enjoyment of the latter, † and no longer.† —

[2]

2

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals.*

That the Law being the Birthright of Americans as well as Britons it follows that they have an equal right to dispose of their own property, and that no power on Earth (an Omnipotent Parliament not excepted) can with any colour of Justice curtail or abridge that Right.

Journals (2)

3

[a] *Resolved* That
[b] of the
‡ reduce ‡

[a] The late Acts relating to [ye] ~~That the claim of the~~ [b] British Parliament ~~of a power to~~ Continent in general & this province in particular ~~make Laws of sufficient force to bind the Colonies in all cases~~ are ~~whatsoever, is~~ contrary to Reason and the Spirit of the English Constitution & if comply'd with will ‡ reduces ‡ us to the most abject state of servitude.

4

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals.*

X

That a late Act of that Parliament for blocking up the Port of Boston, whereby great numbers of innocent persons are reduced to want and Misery, is an instance of injustice and cruelty perhaps not parallelled in any civilized Nation —

5

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals.*

X

That the Act for better regulating the Government the Massachusetts Bay, by which the Charter thereof is mutilated and virtually annulled, and the Act for the impartial administration of government in the same province, ~~both contain the grossest insults~~ which effectually countenances murders and Assassinations, both contain the grossest insults that ever were offered a free people and ought to be resented as such by the Inhabitants of this province by a most vigorous opposition —

6

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals*

That to accept a Commission or office to be aiding or assisting in the inforceing said Acts, is in effect to declare War X against the people of this province, and the person so accepting ought to be treated as a dangerous Enemy to the public —

Journals (3)

7

[a] *Resolved.*

[a] That all civil officers in this province considered as holding their respective offices by the Tenure specified in a late act

[b] the British

of [b] Parliament, deserve neither obedience nor respect

we

* all civil *

but will support * all such Civil * ~~officers who professedly exercise their~~ authority ~~authority~~ agreeable to the Charter of ye Province Granted by King W^m^. & Queen Mary † of blessed memory †

that is

†† omitted in the *Journals*.

Journals (4)

** omitted in the *Journals*.

† agreeably †

[5] *2.* Resolved. That, it is our opinion, that the several Towns of this County should regulate themselves in all their publick † agreeable † to the Laws of this province.

proceedings

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals*.

~~Resolved that considering the complexion of the times it absolutely~~ necessary that every Town and inhabitant of ~~that Town~~ be furnished ~~same~~ with arms & ammunition agreeable to ~~the~~ Laws ~~of~~

This line omitted in the *Journals*.

[3] The Essex Resolve

8

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals*.

That the course of judicial proceedings must in consequence of the preceding principles, be interrupted for a Season, and X we therefore recommend it to all Creditors to exercise lenity and to all Debtors to pay their Just Debts —

Journals (5)

9

[a] *Resolved.*

[a] That we will use our utmost Endeavours to discountenance and suppress all Mobs Riots and breaches of the peace and will afford all the protection in our power to the persons and properties of our loyal fellow Subjects —

10

Omitted in the *Journals* to the words "and as we place," &c.

That in order to regain our ravished Rights, a non Exportation and non importation agreement under certain Restrictions, appears to us the most rational Step — but the particular discussion of this Article we leave to the grand Continental Congress now holden at Philadelphia, and as we place great Confidence in the abilities of the Gentlemen members of that Congress, we will chearfully subscribe to their Determinations —

From "and as we place" to the end constitutes the last clause of the next, or sixth, Resolve in the *Journals*.

Journals (6)

[5] Resolved that in all Things we will regulate ourselves by the opinion and advice of the continental Congress [a] [See marginal note to preceding paragraph.]

[a] now sitting at Philadelphia.

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals*.

That as our Brethren of the Town of Boston, ~~who~~ are now in ye Common cause of America suffering under the Cruel hand of power ~~by their port being block'd up~~ we ~~will~~ afford them all the support & relief wch their Curcumstances ~~in our power~~ may require

Journals (7)

Resolved. That ~~we~~ our Brethren [a] who of Boston are now suffering under the cruel hand of power, in the common cause of America are justly entitled to all that support and relief which ~~can~~ we can, [b] and are now ready, to afford them.

[a] of the town.

[b] give.

Resolved.

[3] 11

That upon a serious view of the present distressed Situation of this Province in general & of the Town of Boston in particular, it is the opinion of this whole Body that a provincial Congress is absolutely necessary and we fully agree with X our respected Brethren in the Counties of Suffolk &c that the Members of the general Assembly ordered to be convened at Salem on the fifth Day of October next, will most properly form such a Congress, and we likewise recommend it to all the Towns in the province to instruct their Members accordingly

This paragraph omitted in the *Journals*. Instead thereof are the following Resolve and Votes: —

Journals (8) *Resolved*, That whereas, our brethren of the county of Suffolk have, by their spirited and noble resolutions, fully made known our sentiments, we therefore think it unnecessary for us to be more particular, as we most cheerfully adopt their measures and resolutions.

Voted, That the above proceedings be inserted in the public papers.

Voted, That the committee for the town of Taunton be empowered to call a meeting of this body whenever they think it necessary.

Voted, That the thanks of this body be given to the chairman, for his faithful services.

Voted, That this assembly be adjourned, and it was accordingly adjourned.

DAVID COBB, *Clerk.*

The thanks of the Society were given to Mr. HILTON for his acceptable gift.

Mr. HENRY WILLIAMS said that he had several valuable manuscripts among his family papers which would eventually go into the cabinet of this Society, but that we must have some safe place of deposit for such treasures before the owners of original papers will be willing to transfer them to our cabinet.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES suggested that such papers might be communicated to the Society at its meetings, and then be printed in our Transactions, if deemed of sufficient interest and value.

The PRESIDENT remarked that a fire-proof building, a library, and cabinet were among the possessions to which the Society aspired in the not distant future. He further observed that members having valuable documents in their possession might give them to the Society, but retain the custody of them till a safe repository should be provided for the Society's use.

JANUARY MEETING, 1894.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on Wednesday, 17 January, 1894, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary read the following letter from the Honorable EDWARD J. PHELPS : —

BURLINGTON, VT., December 26, 1893.

DEAR SIR, — I have had the honor to receive your letter of 20th inst. informing me that I have been elected an honorary member of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

I beg that you will express to the Society my acceptance, and my thanks for the distinguished compliment that has been thus conferred upon me, and which I very highly appreciate.

And I am, dear sir, very sincerely yours,

E. J. PHELPS.

A. MCF. DAVIS, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary.*

The following-named gentlemen were elected Resident Members : —

ROBERT TILLINGHAST BABSON. WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER.
GEORGE NIXON BLACK. HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK.
EDMUND MARCH WHEELWRIGHT.

Mr. HENRY WILLIAMS communicated the fact of the incorporation of the Quincy Historical Society, and stated that its membership consisted of ladies and gentlemen resident in that city and in the towns included within the limits of the old town of Braintree. He also furnished these particulars : —

QUINCY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Quincy Historical Society was incorporated 15 November, 1893, for the "prosecution of historical and antiquarian work and research; the collection and preservation of books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and other articles of historical and antiquarian interest; the publication of periodicals, tracts, and pamphlets devoted to or treating of historical, antiquarian, or kindred subjects, and other historical and antiquarian objects and purposes."

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis read the following paper: —

CORPORATIONS IN THE DAYS OF THE COLONY.

I have selected as the title of this paper "Corporations in the days of the Colony," my purpose being to bring before you Colonial legislation on the subject of corporations, including therewith all grants of privileges which were analogous to charters in their nature and effects. In the development of the subject I have adopted the following plan: —

First, the Virginia charters are contrasted with the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, in order to show the technical differences which suggested the possibility of the removal to Massachusetts of the government of the Company. Then follows a review of antecedent grants to adventurers, showing to what extent the grantees were authorized by their respective patents to exercise in the new settlements powers which were recognized to be prerogatives of the Crown. After which a brief examination is made of the knowledge of the law of Corporations which was accessible to a person reasonably familiar with the law of the land in 1630. The purpose of all this is to enable us to measure correctly the act of a Colonial legislature in creating a corporation. The treatment of the topic specially indicated by the title of the paper then follows, the subject being divided in its presentation into two parts: first, Municipal or Public Corporations; second, Private Corporations and grants analogous in their character.

As a natural sequence to this comes the lesson to be deduced

from the history of the charter of Harvard College,[1] if indeed the history of that grant does not comprise all that can be said on the subject under a strict interpretation of language.

I have thought it would add somewhat to the value of the paper to append a few words concerning corporations created under the Province charter.

CHARTERS OF VIRGINIA AND OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The first charter of Virginia delegated the supervisory management of the affairs of the Company to a Council "established here in England." In the second charter it was provided that there should be "perpetually one Council here resident, according to the tenor of our former Letters Patent." The third charter was a mere enlargement of the second. It provided for meetings of the Council "in such manner as is and hath been heretofore used and accustomed," and it authorized the Council to proceed against certain classes of offenders and "either here to bind them over with good sureties" or to send them back to Virginia.

The Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts Bay Company were empowered to make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the said Company, and for the government and ordering of the said lands and plantations and the people inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them from time to time should be thought meet, so as such laws and ordinances should not be contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm of England.[2] They were further authorized to organize a government, to create offices, and appoint the officials necessary for the

[1] Quincy, in his History of Harvard College (i. 274), says: "The President and Fellows of Harvard College being the only Corporation in the Province, and so continuing during the whole of the seventeenth century, they early assumed, and had by common usage conceded to them, the name of *The Corporation*, by which they designate themselves in all the early records." At the period of which Quincy was then treating there was no other corporation in the Province, but it is an error to say that they designate themselves as "The Corporation" in *all* early records. Prior to 1650, generally, and for some time thereafter, occasionally, the College is designated in the records as "The Society." In the fac-simile of the records (Quincy, i., facing 48), the term used is "the Governours of the College."

[2] The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1814, pp. 8, 9.

control and government of the inhabitants, and were required to publish in writing the laws, statutes, ordinances, instructions, and directions of the Company. The chief commanders, captains, governors, and other officers and ministers to be employed in such government, or on the way by sea thither, had power to rule according to these laws.[1]

The Company through which William Bradford and his associates obtained the patent for Plymouth Colony, was by its very title limited to the town of Plymouth in the county of Devon, in the exercise of its powers of managing the affairs of the Corporation.[2]

The little band of Puritans who sought to avail themselves of the opportunity for the establishment of a separate government in Massachusetts, were quick to take advantage of the omission in the Massachusetts charter of words which directly required the holding in England of meetings of the Governor and Assistants. The duplicate form of government outlined in the charter was abandoned, and with the instrument itself in possession, the organization of the Company became the government of the Colony. For laying the foundation of the forms of government here and for the passage of laws regulating the conduct of the inhabitants of the Colony and the development of their material interests, full power was given by the charter except that such laws could not by the terms of that instrument be repugnant to the laws and statutes of England. Included within this phrase were several powers which were known as prerogatives of the king. It is safe to say that in this latter class, men like Winthrop, who had some knowledge of law, would have placed the granting of a charter which specifically created a corporation.

PRECEDENTS IN ANTECEDENT GRANTS TO ADVENTURERS.

In the decision of questions of this kind, since precedents would naturally have great weight, it may not be amiss to take a survey of the powers which had been conferred upon other adventurers, whether individual or associated in companies.

The "towns, castles, or islands" to be "found out and sub-

[1] The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1814, p. 14.

[2] Hazard's State Papers, i. 103.

dued" by Cabot and his associates in 1496 were by the terms of the grant from Henry VII., to be held by them "as our vassals, governors, lieutenants, and deputies," "the jurisdiction thereof" "remaining to us."[1] In 1502 Hugh Eliot, Thomas Ashurst, John Gunsalus, and Francis Farnandus were licensed as discoverers. In the Charter which was issued to them, a previous grant, made in 1500 to Richard Ward and others, was annulled. Eliot and his co-adventurers were empowered[2] to make laws. In 1578 the countries to be discovered by Sir Humphrey Gilbert were granted by Elizabeth to him "with all commodities, jurisdictions, and royalties both by sea and land," and he and his heirs and assigns had power "to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital or criminal, as civil, both marine and other."[3] In 1584 Elizabeth granted to Sir Walter Raleigh the lands which he should discover, "with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdiction, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabouts, both by sea and land, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate." Power to govern was also given in this patent.[4]

Under this grant Sir Walter apparently felt at liberty to create a corporation, for in an assignment made by him in 1589 to divers gentlemen and merchants in London he states that it is his purpose that his assignees shall "be made free of the Corporation, Company and Society lately made by the said Sir Walter Raleigh in the City of Raleigh, intended to be erected in Asamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia;" and again he alludes in the same instrument to "the Corporation heretofore made by him the said Sir Walter Raleigh, consisting of the Governor and twelve Assistants, etc."[5]

In 1606 James I. issued the charter known as the First Charter of Virginia to the First and Second Colonies of Virginia, which were afterwards known under later charters as the Colonies of Virginia and Plymouth. The Superior Council of these two

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, xii. 595. The O. S. year 1495 is given in Hazard's State Papers, i. 9.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, xiii. 37.

[3] Hazard's State Papers, i. 24. [4] *Ibid.* i. 33. [5] *Ibid.* i. 43, 45.

Colonies was to be appointed by the Crown, and established "here in England," while each of the Colonies was to be governed by a separate Council under laws, ordinances, and instructions issued by the king.[1] Power was given in this charter to the local councils to cause to be made a coin to pass current between the people of the several colonies, of such metal and in such manner and form as the said several councils should limit and appoint.[2]

What is known as the Second Charter of Virginia was in substance a separate grant of the rights and privileges given in the first charter to the first colony, or to the adventurers who proposed to develop that part of the country which we now know as Virginia and North Carolina. It was issued by James I. in 1609 and ordained, established and confirmed, that there should be perpetually one Council "here resident," according to the tenor of the former Letters Patent. This Council had power to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, institutions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said Colony and Plantation.[3]

The Third Virginia Charter was granted by James I., 12 March, 1611–12. It enlarged the domain somewhat, made some changes in the matter of administration, and confirmed all former privileges, unless the same were revoked or altered in that patent.[4]

In 1621 James I., and in 1625 Charles I., granted Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander.[5] In each of these grants power was given to coin money of any metal and in any manner or form that the grantee might desire, for circulation among the inhabitants.[6] These grants also contained power to grant titles,[7] under which Sir

[1] Hazard's State Papers, i. 50. [2] *Ibid.* i. 54.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 67. [4] *Ibid.* i. 72. [5] *Ibid.* i. 134, 206.

[6] *Ibid.* 143: "Damus et concedimus dicto domino Willielmo Alexandro, suisque prædictis, liberam potestatem stabiliendi et cudere causandi monetam pro commercio liberiori inhabitantium dictæ provinciæ, cujusvis metalli, quo modo et qua forma voluerint et eisdem præscribent." See also *Ibid.* pp. 209, 214.

[7] *Ibid.* i. 137: "Nos pro nobis nostrisque successoribus et hæredibus, cum avisamento et consensu prædictis, virtute præsentis cartæ nostræ damus et concedimus liberam et plenariam potestatem præfato domino Willielmo Alexandro suisque prædictis, conferendi favores, privilegia, munia, et honores in demerentes, etc."

William Alexander, in 1630, conferred upon Charles St. Etienne the title of Baronet of New Scotland.[1]

The foregoing includes all that I have found, touching the topic under consideration, which could have come to the knowledge of the early settlers in Massachusetts Bay prior to their landing in America. There are certain peculiarities in the Maryland charter and in the grants to Sir Edmund Plowden and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges which may have come to their knowledge within a few years after their landing, and which may perhaps be entitled to consideration.

CONTEMPORANEOUS GRANTS.

The Charter of Maryland was issued by Charles I. in 1632. It contains the grant of power to confer titles and to incorporate towns and cities.[2]

[1] In 1625 Charles I. issued a proclamation, in which he ordained that the government of the Colony of Virginia should immediately depend on himself, and not be committed to any company or corporation. (Rymer's Fœdera, xviii. 72.)

In 1627 a special commission was issued to "Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, one of the gentlemen of our Privy Chamber," as a discoverer, in which "our loving subjects," "whose company, assistance, or service the said Sir Kenelme Digby" should use, were commanded "to yield all duty, obedience, and respect unto him." (*Ibid.* xviii. 947, 948.) This is the same Sir Kenelme Digby who gave books to Harvard College Library.

[2] Porro ne Viris honestè natis et se ad præsentem Expeditionem accincturis, ac bene de nobis et Regnis nostris Pace et Bello mereri cupientibus in tam remota longèque dissita Regione omnis ad Honores et Dignitates Via præclusa et penitus obsepta esse videatur propterea Nos pro Nobis Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris præfato modò Baroni de Baltimore et Hæredibus et Assignatis suis liberam et plenariam Potestatem damus Favores Gratias et Honores in benemeritos Cives infra Provinciam prædictam inhabitantes conferendi Eosque quibuscunque Titulis et Dignitatibus (modo tales non fuerint quæ in Anglia nunc sunt in Usu) pro Arbitrio suo decorandi Villas item in Burgos et Burgos in Civitates ad Inhabitantium Merita et Locorum Opportunitates cum Privilegiis et Immunitatibus congruis erigendi et incorporandi. (Hazard's State Papers, i. 333.)

It would seem as if the use of titles the value of which was understood in England would have stimulated emigration better than to have compelled the use of new dignities. Such titles as "landgrave" and "cacique," granted in Carolina, could not have been as well appreciated as if power had been given to grant titles without the limitations in the patent. See foot-note to Sir William Alexander's grant, *ante*, p. 187.

Under the grant of Charles I., in 1634, to Sir Edmund Plowden, of the Province of New Albion, he was authorized "villages into boroughs and boroughs into cities, because of the merits of the inhabitants and fitness of the places, with privileges and proper immunities to erect and incorporate." [1]

The grant of the Province of Maine was made by Charles I. to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 3 April, 1639. The grantee had the right to erect, raise, and build cities, towns, and villages, "and the said cities, boroughs, and towns, to grant letters or charters of incorporation, with all the liberties and things belonging to the same." In the exercise of the power thus conferred, the present town of York was twice incorporated as a city in 1641, first under the name Acomenticus, and second as Gorgeana.[2]

The patentees of the Carolina grant, which in 1665 was extended so far south as to include the mouths of the Mississippi, were empowered to grant peculiar titles of honor, different from those in use in England, to great planters in Carolina, and it is said that they did confer the titles of Landgrave and Cacique.[3]

REVIEW OF THE GRANTS.

A review of these grants shows that no particular form was adopted in their issue. We find the king delegating his powers to confer titles, to coin money, and to erect incorporations. Power of self-government was granted to the colonists in all the charters, subject in all cases to the proviso that the laws should not be repugnant to the laws of England, and with varying degrees of freedom as to the power of original legislation in the several charters. The personal relations of the grantees to the Crown probably had a determining influence in settling the extent of the privileges conveyed in each grant, and those who were able to secure grants, but whose influence did not enable them to obtain unusual privileges, were compelled to abide by the result. They could exercise the specific powers which had been granted, but had no other rights than such as were given in the instrument from which those powers were derived. Having these points in view,

[1] Hazard's State Papers, i. 160. [2] *Ibid.* i. 442, 448, 470, 480.

[3] An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, etc. [Adam Anderson], London, 1720, ii. 128; Narrative and Critical History of America, v. 291.

we are in position to give full weight to the instructions given to the first settlers under the Massachusetts charter.

POLICY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COMPANY.

The fear that Endicott might in his zeal overstep the lines of the charter led Craddock to write him, under date of 17 April, 1629, advising him to punish libertines, as near as may be according to the laws of the Kingdom of England; but if they did not amend, to proceed to punish them as the nature of their fault deserved. To this was added, "And the like course you are to hold both with planters and their servants, for all must live under government and a like law; and to the end you may not do anything contrary to law, nor the power granted us by his Majesty's Letters Patents, we have as aforesaid sent you the Letters Patents under the great seal of England, ordering and requiring you and the rest of the Council there, not to do anything, either in inflicting punishment on malefactors, or otherwise, contrary to or in derogation of this said Letters Patents." If these trespassers should prove incorrigible, then the order was distinct and positive: "Ship such persons home by the Lion's Whelp." [1]

Thus we see the Colonists, even before the charter had been brought over to Massachusetts, confronted with the same difficulties as those which Winthrop and his followers afterward had to surmount. Craddock's method of solution was the same as that which was afterward adopted. Suppress libertinism, keep the colony homogeneous, ship the malefactors back if you can not do better; but keep within the letter of the patent *if you can.*

Such was the policy outlined while the Company still had an organization in England, and such remained the permanent policy of the Colonial government after the perilous step of bringing over the Charter emphasized the necessity for caution. The conservative feature of this policy, the keeping within the law, is to be found in what they did not do, rather than in what they actually did; but the relief from monarchical pressure which they experienced during the Protectorate permitted occasional action during this period which can only be explained by bearing in mind when it took place.

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 393.

THE LAW OF CORPORATIONS IN 1630.

The only question of legislation with which I propose to deal is that which I have indicated, — the establishment of corporations. We are so accustomed to the use of the fictitious person in promoting business and social enterprises, that it is not easy to realize the importance attached to the creation of a corporation in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Winthrop was undoubtedly familiar with the learned discussion of the subject by Lord Coke in the famous case of Sutton's Hospital, in 1612,[1] in which it was laid down that one of the essences of a corporation was "lawful authority of incorporation," and that this, when exercised, should be by words sufficient in law, but not restrained to any certain, legal, and prescript form of words.[2] These were the substantial principles which controlled the incorporation by charter, which in turn could come only from the king, either by his own original act or by authority of Parliament. As to municipalities, the inhabitants or the burgesses of a town or borough were in old time incorporated, according to Lord Coke, when the king granted to them to have *gildam mercatoriam*, but municipalities might, and indeed did exist, without incorporation, either by prescription or charter. Chief-Justice Vaughan, writing in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, speaks of "townships, vills, hamlets, or

[1] I quote what follows from an exhaustive article entitled "History of the Law of Business Corporations before 1800," by our associate, Samuel Williston: "The following things were said to be of the essence of a corporation: First, Lawful authority of incorporation, and that may be by four means; viz., by the common law, as the king himself, etc.; by authority of Parliament; by the king's charter; and by prescription. The second, which is of the essence of the incorporation, are persons to be incorporated, and that in two manners; viz., persons natural, or bodies incorporate and political. Third, A name by which they are incorporated. Fourth, Of a place, for without a place no incorporation can be made. Fifth, By words sufficient in law, but not restrained to any certain, legal, and prescript form of words." (Harvard Law Review, ii., No. 3.)

[2] Sutton's Hospital Case. (Coke's Reports, Part 10, 30 *a*.) The reporter digests a portion of the opinion in these words: "The words incorporo, fundo, erigo, etc., not necessary to create a corporation."

Ibid. 30 *b*. "To the creation of an incorporation the law had not restrained itself to any prescript and incompatible words."

counties which are not corporate."[1] This view, that is to say, the possibility of extensive municipal organizations without incorporation, evidently coincides with the opinion of our early legislators. Great confusion exists in the use of terms indicating the various organizations or bodies which exercised functions that to-day would be regarded in themselves as requiring the intervention of the corporate existence. Shires or counties, towns, villages, plantations, settlements, districts, proprieties or land granted to proprietors, churches, parishes, precincts, societies, congregations, and in Plymouth Colony neighborhoods and wards, apparently clash together when we seek to define them; and if there is now or ever was a necessity that any of them should be incorporated, it is difficult to draw the line and say why the same rule does not apply to the others.

QUASI MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN THE COLONY.

The formality of establishing a town even by entering upon the records a date when it was given a name was not always complied with. In many instances our only knowledge of the existence of such a place is the reference to it by name as if it were already established. The foundation of Boston and Charlestown is probably to be found in the instructions issued 17 April, 1629, by Craddock to Endicott, to send forty or fifty persons to Mattachusetts Bay to inhabit there, and in the same letter the instructions to appoint one to be minister with those sent to inhabit at Mattachusetts Bay. Salem is referred to in the same letter as Nahumkeeke. Charlestown had found its name in 1630, and Boston yielded up Trimountaine and was formally christened with its present name by the General Court the same year. It is needless, however, to follow the peculiarities of the records in their meagre allusions to towns which sprang into existence, to plantations and villages which were authorized and subsequently promoted to be towns, and to grants to proprietors who were to undertake the establishment of towns. No system prevailed in legislation upon the subject in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, although as time went on it became customary to use words which indicated

[1] Thomas *v.* Sorrell (Vaugh. 330, 340), quoted by Chief-Justice Gray, in Hill *v.* Boston, 122 Mass. 349.

that the inhabitants of the town were granted the liberties and privileges of a township.

In Plymouth, although the records reveal precisely the same lax methods, there seems to have been quite early an appreciation of the fact that some system ought to be inaugurated in these matters, and in 1638–39 a form was prescribed for the language to be used in establishing a township. It was entitled

"A forme of the deputacon or committeeship wherewith any shall be betrusted by the government for the disposall of any lands wthin any ꝑticular place or limmits which is or shall be thought meete for the erecting of a plantacon, neighborhood, colony, towneship, or congregacon wthin this governmt." [1]

The form itself had no peculiar significance, except so far as it was a recognition of the fact that uniformity of procedure was desirable. Organizations effected under it were obviously not corporations under ordinary interpretation of language.

Chief-Justice Gray, in a leading case in the Massachusetts Reports,[2] sums up the legal aspects of these proceedings in the following words: —

"At the first settlement of the Colony, towns consisted of clusters of inhabitants dwelling near each other, which, by the effect of legislative acts, designating them by name, and conferring upon them the powers

[1] The important part of the form in this connection is as follows: —

Whereas our sovaigne lord the king is pleased to betrust us, T. P., W. B., E. W., &c., wth the govment of so many of his subjects as doe or shalbe ꝑmitted to live wthin this govment of New Plym, and that it seemeth good unto us to begin, set up & establish a neighborhood or plantacon, at a place called , being bounded , and lying miles westward from sd towne of New Plym; and whereas, by reason of the distance of the place and our many weighty occations, we can not so well see to the receiving in of such ꝑsons as may be fitt to live together there in the feare of God, and obeydyence to our said sovaigne lord the king, in peace and love, as becometh Christian people, all wch we earnestly desire — that our care therefore may appeare in the faythfull discharge of our duties towards God, the Kings Matie, and the people ovr whom we are, wee have thought good to betrust our wel beloved T. B., A. C., G. D., &c. Then follow powers to receive peaceable and faithful people and to allot lands to them according to their rank and quality, with a proviso that a certain amount be reserved for said colony, and that they follow instructions from the Government. (Plymouth Colony Records, i. 113.)

[2] Hill *v.* Boston, 122 Mass. 349.

of managing their own prudential affairs, electing representatives and town officers, making by-laws, and disposing, subject to the paramount control of the legislature, of unoccupied lands within this territory, became in effect municipal or *quasi* corporations, without any formal act of incorporation."

That the granting the inhabitants of a town the right to call it by a certain name, or even the grant of the liberties and privileges of a township, was not considered at the time towns were thus established as creating a corporation, is evident from the fact that in 1650 the inhabitants of Boston petitioned for an act of incorporation.[1] In response thereto the Court expressed a willingness to grant the petition if the act were a suitable one for them to pass, and referred the petition to the next session. In other words, notwithstanding Boston had been designated by name and had for years exercised the before-mentioned powers, the town was not then looked upon as a corporation. In 1659 the Court judged meet that the inhabitants should "consult and advise amongst themselves as to a charter and then draw it up in form, and present it to the next session."[2] In 1661 a petition, which probably referred to the same matter, was answered by the Court to the effect that three petitions of like nature had already been received, and the petitioners were referred to them for answer.[3] In 1662, in an answer to a petition of certain inhabitants of Boston, a "new charter now in court" is alluded to.[4] The same petitioners renewed their petition next year, and the same words are used in the answer in 1663.[5] In May, 1677 the town instructed her deputies to the General Court to use their endeavors that this town may be a corporation, or made town and county.[6] The nearest approach that the town of Boston made to securing an incorporation as a town was under the Provincial Charter, in 1772,[7] when the Overseers of Poor of the town of Boston were created, made, erected, and incorporated into a body politic by the name of the Overseers of the Poor in the Town of Boston in the Province of the Massa-

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 207; iv. Part i. 9; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xi. 206–210.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part i. 368.

[3] *Ibid.* iv. Part ii. 26.

[4] *Ibid.* iv. Part ii. 56.

[5] *Ibid.* iv. Part ii. 99.

[6] Memorial History of Boston, i. 219.

[7] Province Laws, v. 177, 187.

chusetts Bay in New England, with power to receive and take charge of gifts and bequests.

TOWNS DECLARED TO BE CORPORATE UNDER THE STATE CONSTITUTION.

Thus the matter stood down to the time of the Constitution, which instrument in one section refers to "places unincorporated,"[1] and in another to "towns now incorporated and places hereafter to be incorporated."[2] There can be no particular inference drawn from this language, as the right of the Province under the Charter to create corporations subject to the approval of the Crown, seems to have been fully admitted by the Privy Council. Soon after the adoption of the Constitution of the Commonwealth it was for the first time expressly enacted that "the inhabitants of every town within this government are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate," and it was held by the Supreme Court, even before it was declared by statute, that towns, as well as counties, territorial parishes, and school districts, by virtue of their existence as *quasi* corporations, were capable of performing various duties.[3] The singular fact remains that it was not until after an amendment to the Constitution was passed, in 1820, specially authorizing the incorporation of towns into cities, that Boston, as a city, was for the first time by special act incorporated.

CHARTERS UNDER THE COLONY.

If we turn now to private companies to which charters were granted which conveyed powers the exercise of which we should regard as only to be justified under corporate form, and companies to which charters were granted which openly created corporations, we find the following facts: —

It is evident that some sort of a monopoly was granted to certain "undertakers of glass-works" about the year 1642, from the

[1] Constitution of Massachusetts, Part the Second, chap. 1, sect. 2, art. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* Sect. 3, art. 2.

[3] Chief-Justice Gray, in Hill *v.* Boston, 122 Mass. 349. I am indebted to our associate, Professor James B. Thayer, for calling my attention to the marvellous resources of this remarkable opinion.

tenor of petitions in 1645, of employees of the undertakers, asking to be freed from their engagements with the glass-works.[1]

In March, 1643–44 Valentine Hill, Capt. Robert Sedgwick, Mr. William Tinge, treasurer, and others, petitioned the General Court that they might be established as a free company of adventurers.[2] The privilege was granted, with power to the petitioners to make such wholesome orders in the well managing of their trade as is granted to such companies in other parts. They were to have a monopoly of the trade that they should discover "in those parts" for the space of twenty-one years. What "those parts" were can only be inferred from the fact that it was provided that the adventurers should have letters granted them under the public seal, to the Dutch, or the Swedes, or any others they might necessarily have to do with. In the margin in the Colony Records the secretary gives us a hint that this grant was a monopoly of the Indian trade, but under the vague terms of the act the Company could have monopolized the foreign commerce of the Colony. Its powers paralleled those of the great trading companies in Europe, some of which had already secured a foothold in Oriental commerce. It was probably what would have been called in England a "regulated company," and did not need incorporation.

In March, 1643–44 a monopoly for twenty-one years was granted to certain undertakers of iron-works,[3] they to put into the venture one hundred pounds each, and at the end of two years to turn out sufficient iron for the country's use. In November, 1644[4] the undertakers and adventurers of the iron-works were granted large tracts of land, extensive rights to building materials, and remarkable privileges in the way of making ponds and water-ways, with rights of way over lands of proprietors. Another grant of somewhat similar character was made in 1645.[5] The company was not successful, and in 1654 they brought suit against a former agent. The suit is entered of record as Mr. Josiah Winslow & Capt. Robt. Keane, deputies and attorneys for the Undertakers of the Iron Works, plaintiffs, against Mr. John Giffard, late Agent, defendant.[6] No words of incorporation are used in the granting

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 137; iii. 48.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 60. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 61. [4] *Ibid.* ii. 81. [5] *Ibid.* ii. 104; iii. 58.

[6] *Ibid.* iii. 371. Another suit, in May, 1655, was thus entered in the records: "In the case between Capt. Robt. Keane, plaintiff, and commissioner for the

of this monopoly; but the character of the company, its purposes and its methods, so far as we can get at them, closely approximate those of the modern business corporation. Still, it is only an approximation.

In 1645 Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. Samuel Symonds, and others,[1] petitioned to be established as a free company of adventurers, with power to admit others and to make such orders for managing their affairs as is granted unto such companies in other parts. This petition was granted. Here again we have an organization the definition of whose powers, like that given in the grant to Hill, Sedgwick, and others, is co-ordinate with the powers given in the charters of the most favored companies to which the Crown had granted Letters Patent; yet the distinct creation of a corporation is avoided.

In 1648 acts were passed establishing in the town of Boston a Shoemakers' Guild and a Coopers' Guild, each for the term of three years.[2] In the margin against these acts the words "Shoemakers Incorporate," "Coopers Incorporate" are respectively written.

It will be sufficient if I give the substance of the Shoemakers' Guild, which was "commissioned," according to the language of the act, 18 October, 1648. Liberty and power were granted to Richard Webb, James Everell, Robert Turner, Edmond Jackson, and the rest of the shoemakers inhabiting, and housekeepers, in the town of Boston, or the greater number of them (upon due notice given the rest), to assemble and meet together in Boston, at such time and times as they should appoint, with power to choose officers, which officers should each take an oath suitable to his place, before the governor or one of the magistrates, the same being prescribed by the Court; to make orders for the well-governing of their company, in the managing of their trade, and to annex reasonable penalties for the breach of the same; such orders to be approved by the Court of the County or by the Court of Assistants. Certain of the officers were to have power to hear

undertakers of the iron works, and Mr. Robt. Knight, defendant." (Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 381. See also iii. 369–372, 379.)

In a suit, in 1654, a question of personal liability was raised. The defendant was entered of record as John Becks & Company, of the iron works. (*Ibid.* iii. 351.)

[1] *Ibid.* ii. 138; iii. 53.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 249, 250.

and determine offences against any of the said orders, to inflict the prescribed penalties, and to assess fines to the value of forty shillings or under. Persons not approved by the officers of said Shoemakers to be sufficient workmen were to be suppressed, on complaint to the County Court. No unlawful combination, however, was to be made by the said Company of Shoemakers to enhance the price of shoes, boots, or wages. It was also provided that in cases of difficulty the officers and associates were to proceed under the advice of the judges of the courts; and that no shoemaker should refuse to make shoes for any inhabitant, out of his own leather, at reasonable rates. Appeal was allowed to the County Court for excessive fines. This Commission was to continue and be of force for three years and no longer, except the General Court should continue the same.

This act and the act creating the "Commission" of the coopers, confer remarkable power, but do not use language which by specific terms can be said to erect corporations.

In 1648 the vintners of Boston and Charlestown, for a consideration, were granted the monopoly of the trade for five years.[1] A grant of a monopoly is not an act of incorporation, but this grant could hardly have been carried out except by the recognition of the vintners as an organization.

In 1650 Henry Dunster petitioned for a charter for Harvard College,[2] to which answer was made that the Court was ready to grant a corporation to the College. This petition appears in the records as subsequent to the date of the act of incorporation, which was 30 May, 1650. It evidently should precede that act.

In the Charter of Harvard College,[3] the General Court distinctly say that the College shall be a corporation. The President and Fellows for the time being are forever thereafter to be, in name and fact, one body politic and corporate in law, to all intents and purposes, and to have perpetual succession, and to be called by the name of "President and Fellows of Harvard College." In the passage of this act the General Court cut loose from the caution which had previously restrained them in dealing with the subject of corporations. One thing, however, is to be

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 253.
[2] *Ibid.* under date of June, 1650, iii. 207.
[3] *Ibid.* iv. Part i. 12.

noticed: the act of 1642, in which the affairs of the college are placed under the supervision of a body of Overseers who are not incorporated, is published in the Book of the General Laws and Liberties of 1660 and in the revised edition of 1672, but it was not thought worth while to include the act of 1650. The direct effect of this omission may be noted in Randolph's report in 1676, where he says, "The government of these colleges is in the Governor and Magistrates of Massachusetts and the President of the College, together with the teaching elders of the six adjoining towns," — a description evidently based on the act 1642. Up to this time the College is generally spoken of in the records of the College as "The Society," and this phrase is used even after this date.

In June, 1652 certain persons were declared to be from "henceforth a corporation"[1] and "incorporated into one body or company," for the purpose of furnishing water to the residents of Conduit Street,[2] Boston. No corporate name is given, but the

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part i. 99.

[2] Our associate, Mr. Henry H. Edes, has furnished the following interesting items, which show the existence of the Company at a later day. The Conduit itself was apparently in working order in 1737, and is incidentally referred to in the Selectmen's Records as late as 1763: —

There were thirteen corporators named in the Act (Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part i. 99), who appear to have had an equal interest in the undertaking. An intimation that the Conduit had been built before the Charter was granted (1 June, 1652) is found in the Act itself, which provides that the corporators "shall take order for the due pajment of theire annuall rent to Mr. Willjam Ting, according to theire couenant and agreement wth him." The fact that it had been built and was in use, certainly as early as 24 (11) 1651, is fully established by a deed of that date whereby Valentine Hill, one of the corporators, conveyed to William Awbrey, "for the vse of the Vnde^{r}takers of the Iron workes in New England," land and a wharf "on the Southerly side of the streete or highway neere the bridge over the mill Creeke . . . together with all water Cou^{r}ses," etc., and "it is further explajned that by wate^{r} cou^{r}ses is vnde^{r}stood the p^{r}iviledge of the Conduite in the streete for two shares as well as any other p^{r}iviledges of wate^{r} cou^{r}ses." (Suffolk Deeds, i. 178–180.) The street, apparently, had not as yet become known as "Conduit Street," but a year later it is so designated in a deed given by William Hudson, another corporator, to Robert Petershall, 27 March, 1652 (*Ibid.* i. 219). The annual expense of the Conduit privileges is shown by a deed dated 22 October, 1652, by which Leonard Buttles, a third corporator, conveys to Capt. Nicholas Simpkins an estate near the Dock with "right & priviledge to fetch water at the Conduite

officers had the right, under certain circumstances, to implead in the name of the whole company or body. Any proprietor of lands within the said street could be admitted into the company by the wardens, with the consent of the major part of the company. Un-

for his owne house only paying therefor yearely two shillings & Sixe pence to the wardens of the Company for the time being" (*Ibid.* iii. 302). Three years later, on 20 February, 1655, Buttles conveys to Richard Staines an estate which "fronteth the Conduit Street" and "a fifteenth part of the water Conduit" (*Ibid.* ii. 258). This would indicate that two other "proprietors of lands, wthin the sajd streete or elsewhere," had "come into the sajd body," as permitted by the Charter; but the surmise that a clerical error occurred in recording Buttles's deed is warranted by reference to an instrument dated 13 July, 1656, by which Joseph Armitage conveys to Capt. Thomas Savage "two thirteenth shares in ye Condit . . . wch two said shares" had been taken on execution from the estate of the "Vndertak^{rs} of ye Iron workes" (*Ibid.* iii. 3).

Conduit Street was known later as Ann Street, and is now North Street. In the title of the estate now and for many years known as "Oak Hall," and of the estate adjoining it on the Southwest, are references to the Conduit. These estates are on the Northerly side of North Street, between Union and Blackstone Streets, and nearly opposite the end of Merchants' Row. The Southwesterly part of the Oak Hall estate belonged to Major Thomas Savage, who conveyed it in 1659, describing it as "on the North side of the Conduit Street" (*Ibid.* iii. 488). In the Inventory of the estate of William Ballantine, a founder of the Scots Charitable Society, this estate is mentioned with wharf and Conduit privileges (Suffolk Probate, No. 516). William Ballantine's heirs, for £275, conveyed the estate to Col. John Ballantine (the eldest son), 28 July, 1680, together with "one share in the Conduit in the Conduit Street," and wharf privileges (Suffolk Deeds, xii. 95). By deed dated 3 January, 1692, Bozoun Allen granted to Ballantine and others the right of laying pipes for the use of the Conduit in Conduit Street (*Ibid.* xx. 29). Colonel Ballantine bought several contiguous parcels, and died 27 April, 1734. His administrator conveyed the enlarged estate to Charles Coffin by deed dated 25 May, 1737, together with wharf and other privileges, "and the use and privilege of the well and water from the Conduit, as the same Premises were heretofore held, used, occupied, and enjoyed" by Ballantine (*Ibid.* liv. 139). The Ballantine lot had a frontage of about 22 feet on Conduit Street. The lot, about 17½ feet front, adjoining it on the Northeast is now included in the Oak Hall estate.

Conduit Street is also referred to in a deed from Abigail Woodbridge, of Hartford, Conn., to Joseph Belknap, 15 March, 1753, conveying the estate adjoining the Ballantine lot on the Southwest. (*Ibid.* lxxxii. 48.)

See also Shurtleff's Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, pp. 398–404, 640, 645, 683; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii., vii., viii. (Town Records, 1634–1728), *passim*, x. 1–54 (Capt. Robert Keayne's Will, 1653), 86, and xi., xiii., xix. (Selectmen's Records, 1701–1763), *passim;* and Memorial History of Boston, i. 233, 234, 546.

less words of succession are to be found in "henceforth" and in the provision that others might be admitted, this so-called corporation had neither name nor succession.

There were no other incorporations[1] or attempts at incorpora-

[1] PATENTS. — In May, 1646 Joseph Jenkes, who was reputed to be a man of ability "in raising the manufacture of engines of mills to go by water," "for the speedy despatch of much work with few hands," was granted the exclusive use of "such new inventions" for fourteen years. (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 149.)

In May, 1652 Edward Burt, who was supposed to have discovered a new way to make salt, was granted the monopoly for ten years of the manufacture of salt by the new method. (*Ibid.* iii. 275.) Our associate Mr. Henry H. Edes is authority for the statement that Burt was of Charlestown, where he was Town Clerk 1658–1662, and married Elizabeth, daughter of George Bunker. Governor Bradstreet was concerned with him in building there the Saltworks, in 1652 (Suffolk Deeds, ii. 256, 257). Cf. Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 115, 150, 160; Suffolk Deeds, i. 99, 238, ii. 112, 156, 163, 167, 169, 170, 171, iii. 66, 324; Middlesex Deeds, i. 142, 143; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, iii. (Charlestown Land Records) *passim;* and Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 421, iv. Part. i. 91, 272, 283, 334.

In October, 1652 John Clarke was granted the exclusive use for three years of his invention "for saving firewood and warming of rooms with little cost and charge, by which means great benefit is like to be to the country." (Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part i. 104.) This grant was extended in May, 1656 for the term of Clarke's life. (*Ibid.* iv. Part i. 260.)

In May, 1655 Joseph Jencks, Sr., and his assigns were granted the exclusive right for seven years to make and use an engine that said Jencks had proposed to the Court for the more speedy cutting of grass. (*Ibid.* iv. Part i. 233.) In May, 1656 John Winthrop was granted an exclusive privilege for twenty-one years of making salt after his new way, within this jurisdiction. (*Ibid.* iii. 400.) In October, 1670 Richard Wharton petitioned the Court (*Ibid.* iv. Part ii. 467) relative to the manufacture of salt. A committee was appointed to treat with him. It may be gathered from the report of this committee in June, 1671, that he had information of the "making of salt by improving the advantage of the sea-water by the sun," as practised elsewhere, and that he wished to secure a charter for a company. (*Ibid.* iv. Part ii. 505.) The committee recommended the grant of "a charter for empowering a company of adventurers thereunto," and the Court approved the proposition, but recommitted it for future report, after settlement of details.

In June, 1671 the Court passed an order to the effect that no person, except Richard Wharton, John Saffin and Company, could make or produce (any other way than hath been practised in former times in this country) any pitch, rosin, turpentine, oil of turpentine, or mastic of the pine or cedar trees in this jurisdiction. This monopoly of the manufacture of these articles by any other

tions until after the promulgation of the Province Charter, with the exception that in 1672, in President Hoar's day, there is an alleged new charter for the College extended in the Colonial Records.[1] Whether the act passed is not known. No recognition of it appears to have been made by the College. It does not appear in the published laws of the Colony. No stress, however, can be laid upon this omission, inasmuch as the Charter of 1650, as I have already stated, is also conspicuous in its absence from the same publications. If this Charter was actually enacted to be a law, it was at best merely a substitute for the Charter of 1650 of which it was practically an amendment.

Words sufficient in law to create corporations can hardly be said to have been used in any of the before-enumerated grants by the General Court of the Colony to undertakers, adventurers, or companies, nor are they to be found in the Commissions of the guilds. In what might have proved to be the solitary exception to this statement, the nameless aqueduct company of Conduit Street, the lack of a name and the failure to provide for succession are probably fatal defects. If we turn to the Harvard College Charter we find there the language which was considered to be necessary for the creation of a charter which was conceived to be of importance. The Charter which was drafted for the town of Boston in 1650 has also been preserved, and is of the same character.[2]

methods than those previously in practice had one exception. Any person could manufacture for his own use by new methods. The order was to remain in force for ten years, and was accompanied by grants of pine and cedar trees. (Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part ii. 499.)

In May, 1681 the "undertakers of the outworke or wall before the toune of Boston, to the seaward," were granted power to hear and determine controversies among themselves, and impose fines among themselves. (*Ibid.* v. 310.) Although this is not a corporation, yet considering the scope of our review, it ought not to be passed by without notice. It is not mentioned here, because the grant is considered as qualifying the statement in the text.

The attempt to improve the mechanical application of water-power is what might have been expected in Massachusetts; but that the mowing-machine should have been anticipated, seems, on the whole, strange. It was also natural that attention should be turned toward improvements in the manufacture of salt. What was known in this direction can probably be ascertained; but it would be interesting to learn what was the proposed economy of John Clarke in the use of firewood.

[1] *Ibid.* iv. Part ii. 535; Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 592.

[2] New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, xi. 206–210.

HARVARD COLLEGE, "THE CORPORATION."

Having thus briefly reviewed the precedents in antecedent charters, and the status of the law of corporations in the seventeenth century, and having taken a glance at the municipalities existing in Colonial days and at the associations and corporations then created by the General Court, let us pass in special review certain facts in connection with the prudential affairs of Harvard College, the sole surviving colonial corporation, if not the only corporation which was created during that period.

The act of 1636, establishing the College, was by its terms a simple agreement to contribute toward the support of a school or college, the time of payment of the contribution and the site of the college not being definitely fixed by this act. The language is as follows: The Court agree to give four hundred pounds towards a school or college, whereof two hundred pounds shall be paid next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished; and the next Court to appoint where and what building. The next year, 1637, the College was ordered to be at Newtown, and twelve men were appointed to take order for a college at Newtown. This was all the existing legislation when John Harvard died and left to the College money enough for those having the matter in charge to begin the construction of a building. Fortunately for the College, Harvard's estate was in such form that his executors could promptly settle it and pay over the money to Eaton in Cambridge.

A prudent man, about to build a house, secures in advance the title to the land which he proposes to occupy. The only real estate in the possession of the College to-day the title to which is known to run uninterruptedly from 1638 to the present time is a lot of two acres and two thirds, supposed to be included within the College yard, which was then set off by the town to "the Professor," with a memorandum to the following effect: The two acres and two thirds above-mentioned to the Professor is to the town's use forever for a public school or college, and to the use of Mr. Nath. Eaton as long as he shall be employed in that work, etc.[1] A few years since I made a search for the site of the first college building. My expectation was that I should be able to trace

[1] Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 42, note.

it to the lot granted by the town, but to my surprise, I reached the conclusion that it must have been on another lot, the title to which in 1638 stood in Eaton's name on the proprietary records.

The curious nature of the grant of the town of Cambridge to the Professor, for the town's use, for Eaton's use, seemed to me, at first, merely the work of incompetent men; but when the situation of affairs is examined more closely the whimsical nature of the language does not seem so absurd. The town wanted to grant a lot to the College, but found no organization in which they could lodge a title, and to avoid putting absolute title in Eaton reserved it for the town's use. It is possible that this reservation to the town's use is what kept the building off this lot, — that is, if I am right in my conclusion that it was erected on the Eaton lot.

The act of 1642 authorized and empowered the Overseers to dispose, order, and manage to the use and behoof of the said College and the members thereof, all gifts, legacies, bequeaths, revenues, lands, and donations, as either have been, are, or shall be, conferred, bestowed, or any ways shall fall or come to the said College.[1] Between the date of the passage of this act and the grant of the Charter, the College received three or four bequests or grants of land. In one of these, the grant of the Fellows Orchard by John Bulkley, the conveyance of the title to Henry Dunster, President of the College, for the use of the Fellows, shows that in the minds of some, the act of 1642 did not entirely accomplish its purpose.

The Charter of 1650, the same under which the affairs of the College are now managed, has been already alluded to. The Appendix to the charter passed in 1657 in no way affected the questions which we are considering. The draft of a charter which, in 1672, appears in the Colony Records is so inconsistent with any theory of the needs of the College, and the total omission of

[1] Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 587. In the Convention for the revision of the Massachusetts Constitution in 1820, the act of 1642 was spoken of by Quincy as the Charter of the College, and he even went so far as to describe the Act of Incorporation in 1650 as the "Supplemental Charter." (Journal of Debates and Proceedings, Boston, 1821, p. 44.) Daniel Davis of Boston took substantially the same ground. (*Ibid.* p. 46.) Daniel Webster, at a later stage of proceedings, made a report in which he gave a history of the Charter, and showed the points of difference between the act of 1642 and the Charter of 1650. (*Ibid.* pp. 236, 237.)

1686. 1686.

October 22 A Stock Cart against the Colledg Stocks & Donation of Mr Dudley Mr Thornton & Mr Jno Mather & Rec^d of Mr Sam^ll Nowell the late Treasurer the Several Papers underneath written & amordered to new make all the Obligations Mortgages & Bonds thereunto belonging & Instruments & Writings made & Signed between & Interchangably assigned

			Due from	£ s d	Interest due 1686 £ s d	
Octob. 27.	1680	Eliezer Holbrook & Ester Abbot		2:8:0		65
Aug. 16.	81	Sam^ll Goffe		15:0:0		65
	17	Sam^ll Phillips & Capt John Holbrook		20:0:0	1:12:0	65
	18	Willm Veary & Capt Brenton Brook		40:0:0		65
	19	Alex^r Radcock & Benj^a Bosworth		30:0:0 new bond taken for 216	5:0	66
	19	mr Elias Parkman Merchant		125:0:0 new Mortg^e		66
Sept.	19	John Oulton on Mortg^e		30:0:0 new Mortg^e		66
	20	Thomas Atkins Mortg^e		25:0:0 new Mortg^e	1:4:0	66
Decem.	15	Thomas & Jehiam Hunt		50:0:0 new bond. Nov 30. 86	4:0:0	67
April.	6. 82	Sam^ll Nowell Esqr		50:0:0 new bond taken Oct 27. 86		67
Sept.	29	Robt Ingolls & Robt Bass of Lyn		41:0:0		67
Aug.	4	mr Richard Wharton		100:0:0 new Mortg^e	1:10:0	68
Octob.	10	David Bland of Pelsnice		20:0 [illegible] 2:7:4	1:7:0	68
March.	29 83	Thomas Browne Camb. Bricklayer		13:0 new bond	1:0:0	68
	29	John Barnard of Watertown		5:0:0		68
April	12	John Morse of Boston Shipwright dead		40:0:0		69
June	20	Willm Smith of Boston Mortg^e		50:0:0 new Mortg^e		69
July	20	David & Gamel Church Watertown		12:2:0		70
Aug.	30	John Gerrish of Camb^ll		25:0:0 New bond taken Oct 30	1:8:0	69
Sept.	22	John Greer Marshall		15:0:0 New bond taken Nov^r	4:0:0	69
Octob.	4	Sam^ll Goffe Ditto		50:0:0 new b	2:8:0	69
Decem.	17	Willm Smith Ditto bond		10:0:0		71
Mar.	26. 84	Joseph Wilson Marshall		26:0:0		71
	28	mr Edward Pelham of the Island		344		70
June.	13.	Henry Scottow of Muddy River		14 new bond	5:8	70
Sept.	15	Joseph Holmes of the Bligh		5:0:0 New bond made	2:0:0	70
Nov.	3	mr John Winthrop Mortg^e of Hull		5:0:0	16:0	70
Nov.	13. 86.	Mors Paine of Boston		5:16:6	0:0	71
				1170:0:10		

reference to it in the records at Cambridge so peculiar, that I have no explanation to offer for it. If it was passed it violates my idea that there was a persistent effort to avoid cumbering the records with needless conflicts with the Crown on law points, although it may of course be said that this act being in effect a mere amendment of an existing charter, its passage would not have been regarded in the same way as the creation of a new corporation would have been.

Referring to the period after the determination of the *scire facias*, Quincy says: "By the revocation of the Colonial Charter of Massachusetts in 1684, the Charter of the College was, by necessary construction, also vacated." Whether this was so or not, it is certain that it was so regarded at the time. Joseph Dudley, President of the Council in 1686, and William Stoughton, Deputy President, on the twenty-third of July in that year, with their Council, met at Cambridge, and appointed Increase Mather Rector, and John Leverett and William Brattle Tutors, enjoining upon the Rector to make his usual visitation, and vesting in the last two the government of the college.[1]

The resignation of Samuel Nowell, Treasurer, having been received, John Richards was re-appointed Treasurer of the College, 22 October, 1686, and he then made the following entry in one of the College account-books: —

"1686, October 22. I tooke care againe of the Colledge stocke p psuasion of m^{r} Dudley, m^{r} Stoughton, & m^{r} Incr. Mather, & rec^{d} of m^{r} Saml Nowell, the late Treasurer, the severall Papers underneath written, & am ordered to new make all the Obligations, mortgages, &c., & take them in myne owne name, as by one Instrument of this date signed between us Interchangably appears."

[1] Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 58, 276. The effect of the annulment of the Colony Charter was discussed by Hon. Emory Washburn in 1875. He said: "There is no doubt, however, that opinions have at times prevailed in the community that the Colonial Statutes were annulled by abrogating the Charter." (Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 454.) James Savage, discussing the same question in the Massachusetts Convention for the revision of the Constitution in 1820, said: "The rights of all sorts dependent on that Charter were annulled. Not, sir, that my ancestors, or yours, were, or could be, deprived of the actual possession of their highest rights; they held them by something better than paper." (Journal of Debates and Proceedings, etc. Boston, 1821, p. 48.)

In the account-books of the same Treasurer, under date of 1 August, 1687, another entry appeared which is equally interesting. The account in which this entry is made appears to be Richards' cash account. It is headed "Stocke belonging to Harvard Colledge att Cambridge." Stock is credited with moneys received by him, and charged with his disbursements. On the first day of August, 1687, the credit entries footed up £130 11*s*. On that day he paid out "for recording mortgage to m^r^ Dudley" £1 8*s*., and "to another for bonds, &c.," 13*s*., making £2 1*s*. This amount when added to previous disbursements apparently left in his hands £19 11*s*., which he paid over to Increase Mather. The entry in explanation of that payment is carefully erased, but the debit items are posted up, making £130 11*s*., an exact balance of his cash. The footings are entered on each side and ruled off. An explanatory entry is made on each page to this effect: —

"Thus farr an Accompt was demanded by Sr Edm^d^ Andross & delivered to him."[1]

The Province Charter was granted 7 October, 1691. Increase Mather, writing from London 16 November, 1691, says[2]: —

"I humbly proposed to some great ministers of state that a particular charter might be granted for the incorporating that school for Academical learning. Answer was made that it should be so if I desired it, but that a better way would be for the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony by a law to incorporate their College, and to make it an University, with as ample privileges as they should think necessary."

[1] The account books from which these entries are transcribed mouldered and rotted, and were riddled by insects for many years in a loft in John Hancock's stable. Mr. Sibley published an account of their recovery by the College, and gave a detailed description of their contents. (Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, 1862–1863, vi. 337.) The historical value of the books is greatly increased by these entries, the first being illustrative of the chaotic condition, at that time, of affairs in this country, and the second indicating that the representative of the Crown considered the organization at Cambridge as having its origin from the Colonial government, and therefore as being under his control.

[2] Brief Account concerning Several of the Agents of New England, their Negotiation at the Court of England, with some Remarks, etc. [Increase Mather.] London, 1691, p. 21.

Stocke [illegible] to Harvard College at Cambridge

Date	Fol.	Entry	Ledg. fol.	£	s	d
[illegible] 31. 1686	17	To pd Lt. Cutler of Charlestowne for shooing mr Mathers horse &c as p rect			9	
March 14. 1686	17	To pd ditto for wintering horse 26 as p rect & May 23 pd for fetters & shooing 6		1	12	
19	17	To pd mr Addington for Sundry writings as p rect 25 6 / more 1 6		1	7	
	17	To pd to ye fellowes Nov 4. 86. 12. 10 / Febr 1. 12. 10 / May 2. 12. 10 / Aug 1. 87. 12. 10		50		
[illegible] 17. 1687	17	To pd Aaron Bardman Smith 2. 13 / 20th pd mr Leverett toward ye Orchard 58	58	5	11	
June 27	18	To money lett to Thomas Gill of Hingham on morg 20		20		
29	18	To money to mr Jonathan Mitchell one of the Scollars of the house p order 5		5		
July 2	18	To mr Rogers another Schollar of the house on mr Mathers note		5		
25	18	To mr Paul Dudley Schollar of the house on mr Mathers note		5		
27	18	To my Salery 15 to August 1. 1687		15		
Aug 1	18	To paid for recording 5 morgages to mr Dudley 1. 8 & to another for bonds &c 13		2	1	
1	18	To mr Jnor Mather pd [illegible]		19	11	
		Thus farre an Accompt was demanded p [illegible] & delivered to him		130	11	
Septem 30	18	To money to Nath Rogers Coll butler for table cloathes & capps	74	2	15	
Decem 5	19	To paid to repaire of Colledge House lett to mr Jn Carlton as p acct		18	13	
	19	To paid mr Linde of Charlestowne 40 summering mr Mathers horse		2		
30	19	To pd the fellowes p Fr Hudson dec 30. 12. 10 / Febr 2. 87 12. 10 / May 10. 88. 12. 10	71	37	10	
April 2. 1688	19	To paid to Jn Palfry Joiner for worke p his Excellency order		3	3	3
[illegible] 31	19	To paid unto mr Jn Leverett & mr Brattle p order abouesd money		18		
[illegible] 18	19	To paid to mr William Hubbard p order		30		
[illegible]	20	To mr Jn Leverett p note to Franc Hudson 25 rent of ferry to Nov 1. 88		25		
[illegible] 22. 88	20	To money lett to Capt Blackwell as p bond of himself & brother	73	100		
[illegible]	20	To money lett to Seth Perry 15	73	15		
[illegible] 29. 89	20	To pd mr Leverett 25 & fol 21 Nov 1. 89 to mr Brattle 25 rent to this day	71	50		
[illegible] 1. 89	21	To money lett to Thomas Atkins 50 p bond & morgage	66	50		
[illegible] 14. 1690	21	To losse on Money to this day		3	17	6
26	21	To money lett to mr Benoni Eaton & mr Jacob Hill for 3 year at 8 p Cent	72	20		
	21	To money lett to mr Nath Byfield & Jn Mico Aug 14. 89 (omitted in its place)	71	80		
June 3	21	To money lett to Jn Bunker & Jacob Hill 15	67	15		
3	21	To pd mr Leverett & mr Brattle p order p mr Bor[illegible] 40 & money 12 & Jun 6. 90 & Jun 19 p money 24 & Jun [illegible] p mrs Smith 12 [illegible] money & gave [illegible] to Sam Manfield 3	75	88		
26	21	To pd to mr Jones & Son [illegible] Haven [illegible] p order [illegible]	75	9		
July 25	22	To money lett to Edwd Hill & Capt Sam Vohite 50 as p bond	76	50		
July 20. 88	[illegible]	To money lett to mr Shattock & Stratton omitted [illegible] 20. 1688 p bond	69	15		
		To rent of Ferry to the fellowes 2 year expiring may 1. 1690 omitted [illegible]		25		
Aug 14. 1690	22	To pd mr Leverett rent of ferry [illegible] 10 Novem 14. 90. 12. 10		25		
Sept 30. 1690	22	To money lett to mr Mathew [illegible]	71	20		
Decem 16	22	To pd mr Rolph 1. 4 more march 18th 1690 [illegible] money		2	10	
Decem 16. 1690	22	To money lett to Lt Richd Way 80	73	80		
Febr 25. 1690	22	To mr Leverett & Brattle p order 20 money / march 23 to mr Brattle p mr Jackson 10 & Sept 10 to mr Leverett 10	75	40		
Febr 3	22	To mr 10 Brattle note for ferry money to 1st instant 12. 10 / & Cevil 10 to mr Leverett 10	70	12	10	
March 17	22	To money more lett to Mr Mathew Bridge above & now included both in one bond	71	10		
26. 91	20	To money lett to mr John Jackson as p bond	71	82	13	
				930	11	9
		To my Salery from Aug 1. 1687 about to August 1. 1690 is 3 year at 15 p Annum as was alowed above		45		
				975	11	9

Date	Fol.	Entry	Ledg. fol.	£	s	d
Novem 20. 1686	17	p money rec of Joseph [illegible] 12. 10	70	2		
1686	17	p money of Franc Hudson [illegible] Nov 4. 12. 10 / Feb 1. 12. 10 / May 2. 12. 10 / Aug 1. 87	71	50		
March 3. 1686	17	p money of Isaac Lobdell [illegible] Island 45	72	2	5	
14	17	p money of Rich Hood rent of Meadow 2. 14 / 18th of Robt Burges 3	67	5	14	
25. 1687	17	p money rec of Tho Hunt 4 rent of 50 to decem 15. 1686	67	4		
April 6	17	p money of Sam Goffe 15 principall & 4 16 rent	65	19	16	
7	17	p money of Hen Sager rent 20 / Ledg 70 / Apr 8. 87 fol 17 money of Sam Paine Ledg 65	1 12	2	12	
30	17	p money of [illegible]	65	1	5	
May 3	17	p money of mr [illegible] rent 4 / & for mr Pelham 3 12 fol 70 Ledg / & for Burges &c 6 14	67	14	6	
May 16	17	p rec of Sam Livermore rent 25 / Jun 24 fol 18 money of mr Wharton rent 1 Ledg 68	72	2	5	
July 2	18	p rec of Eliz Button fol 69 2 8 / & July 7th of mr Wharton 8 Ledg 68		10	8	
12	18	p rec of mr Elias Parkman rent 10	66	10		
13	18	p rec of mr Whiting principall 5 rent 20 p mr Moody	70	6		
		Thus far accompt was demanded p Edm Androsse & delivered to him		130	11	
Sept 3. 1687	18	p rec of Deborah Keen money	65	2	8	
8	18	p rent of Goffe of Cambridge	65	4		
29	18	p money of John Augur principall 30 rent 2 8	66	32	8	
Octob 2	18	p money of mr Jackson rent of 25 to Aug 30th last	71	2		
12	19	p money of Moses Paine fol 71 5. 16. 6 / Oct 22d of Henry Godfry rent 1. 5 for Smith	69	7	1	6
Novem 3	19	p money of John Green 24 fol 69 / Nov 5th of mr Greenliffe 3	72	4	4	
	19	p money of Sam Paine 1. 12 fol 65 / Dec 9th of mr Atkins 24 fol 66	66	2	16	
30	19	p money of Tho Hunt rent of 50 4 fol 67 / & 50 principall	67	54		
Febr 19	19	p money of Fr Hudson pd to the fellowes 12. 10 / Febr 2. 12. 10 / May 10. 88. 12. 10	71	37	10	
Decem 30	19	p money of mr John Carlton p rent 4 rec Nov 14. 87 Slipt in posting	73	6		
May 21 1688	19	p money of mr Atkins 28 6	66	28	6	
Mar 21. 1687	19	p rec of Richd Hood in p of rent of Meadow march 21. 1687	67	2	13	
April 18 1688	19	p rec of Sam Livermore rent of Land at Watertown Apr 18. 88	72	1	5	
May 2. 1688	19	p rec of mrs Nowell 4 rent of 50 to April 6 1688	67	4		
June 2	19	p money of Hen Sagar 11 / July 13. 88 of Elias Parkman 10	66	10	11	
July 26	20	p money of Rebecca Godfry rent of house	69	5	5	
28	20	p money of mrs Button rent of 40 2 8	69	2	8	
Aug 22	20	p money of Rob Badcock & Benjamin	66	4	16	
Sept 19	20	p money of Thomas Gill in full of morg for money lett to him	72	22		
24	20	p money of Jn Green 24 rent / 21 April 18. 90 money 21	69	2	8	
Oct 27	20	p money of Jn Barnard 15 / nov 10 of Browne [illegible] 1. 6	68	2	1	
Nov 10	20	p money of Isaac Lobdell 5 / 13th of mrs Nowell 52 7 6	(72 67)	54	12	6
Decem 11	20	p money of Sam Goffe rent 4 / 19th of Sam Paine 1. 12	65	5	12	
19	20	p money of mrs Eliz Button 41 1 / Jan 5th of mr Carlton 72 rent 5 8	69	47	04	
17	20	p Franc Hudson rent of ferry to Nov 1. 1688		25		
March 22	20	p money of mr Mary Wilt rent of Colledge house 3 & July 1. 89 & Sept 26 more 6	73	9		
April 10. 1689	20	p money of Sam Livermore rent 25 / & April 30. 1690 25		2	10	
May 21	20	p money of Richd Hood rent 2 7 / & of Phil Ingalls Jun 13. 89 3	67	5	7	
29	20	p money fr Hudson pd mr Leverett 25 / 21 Nov 1. 89 mr Brattle 25 rent ferry	71	50		
June 11	20	p money of Isaac Lobdell rent of Island 45 / & 21 of mar 22 89 more 45	72	4	10	
July 1	20	p money of mr Stratton rent of 15 [illegible] / fol 22 of mr Stratton more 20	60	2	8	

The College Charter, passed 27 June, 1692, was disallowed by the Privy Council, 22 August, 1695,[1] because power was not reserved for the king to appoint visitors. A new Charter was drawn up in 1696, but was successfully opposed by Increase Mather.[2] 12 October, 1696 Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton went to Cambridge, and appointed the former President, Fellows, and Treasurer to manage the College until the king's pleasure should be known, or a settlement of the College obtained.[3] Another Charter was drawn up and passed in 1697. This was disallowed by the Privy Council, 24 November, 1698.[4] On the twenty-fifth of July, 1699 the Council, on motion of the House of Representatives, as appears by the title of the chapter in the Province Laws, formally advised the executive to continue the government and direction of the College with the gentlemen of the late corporation, to have and exercise the same until further order.[5] In July, 1699 another Charter was passed. This contained a clause to the effect that no one should be President, Vice-President, or Fellow of the Corporation, unless he should declare himself and continue to be of the Congregational or Presbyterian persuasion in matter of religion. For this reason it met with Bellomont's disapproval.[6] The House of Representatives, 23 March, 1699–1700, appointed a committee to wait on the Governor with a message, praying that the care and government of the College might be continued in the hands of the late Corporation until other provision should be made. This was concurred in by the Council.[7] 14 June, 1700 an address to his Majesty was agreed upon, which prayed, among other things, for the settlement of the College.[8] 9 July an address to the Earl of Bellomont was agreed upon, in which he was requested to improve his interest in his Majesty and the Ministers of State, in behalf of the Province, for the settlement of the College at Cambridge,

[1] Province Laws, i. 38, and note at the end of the chapter; vii. 452, 608; Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 77, 594.

[2] Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 85; Province Laws, vii. 608.

[3] Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 82.

[4] Province Laws, i. 288; vii. 608, 609; Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 86.

[5] Province Laws, vii. 228.

[6] Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 100, 607.

[7] Province Laws, vii. 230. [8] *Ibid.* vii. 245.

according to the ends and interests of the first founders. This address was forwarded 12 July, and was accompanied with the heads of a Charter for incorporating the said College.[1] The Charter alluded to in the address to the Governor was adopted 12 July.[2] The address was evidently held back until the Charter should be passed. The same day a resolve passed appropriating five hundred pounds for the Governor, to be improved in managing the address of the Court to the king.[3] The address reached the Board of Trade, but apparently the draft of a Charter did not accompany it.[4] The agreement by the two Houses to a Charter led to the passage the next day of an order providing that the officers named in the proposed Charter should manage the affairs of the College until his Majesty's pleasure should be known as to the settlement of the College.[5] The proposed Charter by its terms required that the President should reside at Cambridge. The failure of Increase Mather to comply with that condition, showed that some provision should be annexed to the order which had been passed entrusting the management of the College to the persons named in the proposed Charter, which should provide for the government of the College in case of Mather's refusal, illness, or death. This contingency was covered, therefore, by an order passed 14 March, 1700–1701 entrusting the care of the College, in either of those events, to the Vice-President and the other gentlemen named.[6] By the passage of a resolve 1 August, 1701, Samuel Willard was invited to accept the care and charge of the College.[7] Mr. Willard's church would not consent to his residence at Cambridge. As the General Court was about to adjourn, the Council, 9 August, 1701, by resolve, were invested with the charge of the College until the next session of the General Court.[8] On the sixth of September, 1701, a resolve was passed inviting Samuel Willard, nominated as Vice-President, to take charge of the College.[9] Willard's power to confer degrees having been questioned, it was determined to be sufficient under the resolve already passed.[10] Quincy says that, in 1705, Governor Dudley intimated to the

[1] Province Laws, vii. 252, 253.
[2] *Ibid.* vii. 257, 643.
[3] *Ibid.* vii. 260.
[4] *Ibid.* vii. 635, 643.
[5] *Ibid.* vii. 265.
[6] *Ibid.* vii. 272, 644.
[7] *Ibid.* vii. 698.
[8] *Ibid.* vii. 308.
[9] *Ibid.* vii. 312.
[10] *Ibid.* vii. 703.

Council that, by letters from England, there was encouragement to hope that a Charter of incorporation might be obtained from her Majesty for Harvard College, in Cambridge, if proper application were made, and the draft proposed in his late Majesty's reign was ordered to be laid on the table to be read.[1] No measures, however, were taken in either branch in consequence of these suggestions of Governor Dudley. The vote declaring that the Charter of 1650 had not been repealed or nulled was passed in 1707. Under this authority the reconstructed Charter became and has continued to this day to be, the frame of government of the University.[2]

Our examination of current events has shown, I think, a reluctance to tread upon the king's prerogatives, which held the General Court back until the ascendency of Cromwell seemed so well assured that they ventured to overstep the mark. Harvard College profited by this. The abrogation of the Colony Charter upset the affairs of the College, and the doubts as to what could be done, which continued from that time until 1707, have always been understood. But it has not heretofore been known that Nowell,[3]

[1] Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 153.

[2] It will be observed that the details relating to the foregoing analysis of the legislation with reference to the government of Harvard College during this *ad interim* organization are mainly derived from the copious notes furnished by Abner C. Goodell, Jr., in the seventh volume of the Province Laws. Quincy covered this ground with great detail, but the patient industry of Mr. Goodell has added new material, and has made plain much that was left obscure by Quincy. For a just appreciation of the value of Joseph Dudley's intervention, through which the charter of 1650 was saved to the College, and for the proper understanding of these proceedings, which were rendered complex through the ambition of Mather to retain the presidency without complying with the order of the Court that he should reside in Cambridge, it is desirable to read the explanations and comments of the learned annotator, in connection with Quincy's elaborate account.

[3] Samuel Nowell was a Charlestown man. We therefore look to our associate Mr. Henry H. Edes for information concerning him. He contributes the following facts: —

Samuel Nowell was a graduate of the College in 1653. He was a son of Elder Increase Nowell of Charlestown, where he was born 12 (9) 1634. Two years after graduation, in 1655, he was elected a Fellow of the College. He was also a Chaplain in the army during Philip's War, and was in the great Swamp Fight, 19 December, 1675. Nowell also served the Colony as an Assistant and

who was a man of moderate means, terminated his *pro tempore* treasurership at this date, in order that Richards might take the securities in his own name. Nor has the imperious demand of Andros, that they should submit a statement of account, been heretofore reported. We may judge from the step taken in lodging the securities in the name of the College Treasurer how the perils of the situation were then regarded. The inspection of the accounts by Andros shows his belief that a supervisory power existed on the part of the Crown.[1]

PROVINCE CORPORATIONS.

The Province Charter provided that lands held by individuals, bodies politic or corporate, towns, villages, colleges, or schools, whether by grant of general or by any other lawful title, were to continue to be held according to the purport and intent of the respective grants.[2] This recognition of the possibility of land titles vested in corporate bodies, coupled with the fact that all laws thereafter to be passed by the Provincial Legislature should be submitted to the king, foreshadowed what was to take place, namely, a recognition of the power of that body to erect incorporations subject to the approval of the Crown. This of course removes all proceedings of this nature from direct consideration under the topic which I am discussing. Yet I think that the caution with which this power was exercised during the existence of the Prov-

a Commissioner of the United Colonies, and in 1687 accompanied Increase Mather to London on a mission to the English Court.

Nowell's appointment as Treasurer of the College in January, 1682/3, was *pro tempore*, the Corporation "still reserving Liberty for the worshipfull Captn, Richards to reassume the place at his return" from England. Nowell's instructions for the management of the College finances are printed in 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 694. He died in London in August or September, 1688. (Cf. Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, ii. 710–711; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, i. 322, 335–342, 553, 592)

[1] I am indebted to our associate, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., for calling my attention some months since, when I showed him copies of these entries, to the technical legal point, of the recognition of the College as a corporation, by the representative of the Crown, which was involved in the order issued by Andros to the College to submit their accounts to his inspection.

[2] The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay. Boston, 1814, pp. 26, 27.

ince Charter carries with it a lesson worthy of study. Since the exercise of this power could only be effected with the approval, first, of a governor holding office by royal appointment, and, second, by the king himself, or by his authorized representatives in England, we may infer not only from the actual exercise of the power, but also from the restraints imposed upon that exercise, what were the views of the Crown on this subject.

The language used during this period in the establishment of new towns, parishes, precincts, and districts varies in the different acts, titles, and preambles, as far as the uniformity of purpose will permit. Towns are erected or incorporated, and the people are constituted or made a township, or are invested with the privileges and immunities of a township. No particular value seems to be attached to any particular word or words in the acts, or to any set form of phraseology. The title may be, An Act for the Erection of a Town; the preamble of the same act may state that the inhabitants are desirous of being incorporated, or suffer inconvenience from not being incorporated, while the act itself may simply state that they are made or constituted a town. It is evident, however, that whatever the specific form used in these acts, and whatever the inconsistencies of language between the titles, the preambles, and the acts themselves, the result of an incorporation was practically obtained. When we turn to private corporations, we find the following record: —

The Marine Society of Boston in New England was incorporated 25 January, 1754.[1]

The Deacons of all the several Protestant Churches, not being Episcopal Churches, and the Church Wardens of the several Episcopal Churches, were incorporated for the purpose of holding eleemosynary funds, 10 January, 1755.[2]

The Feoffees of the Ipswich Grammar School were incorporated for ten years, 17 February, 1756.[3]

The Trustees of the Second Parish of Rehoboth were incorporated 30 June, 1761, to hold certain funds of the parish.[4]

The Trustees of the First Parish of Rehoboth were incorporated 11 February, 1762, for similar purposes.[5]

[1] Province Laws, iii. 708, 744.
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 778, 818.
[3] *Ibid.* iii. 891, 951.
[4] *Ibid.* iv. 463, 542.
[5] *Ibid.* iv. 518, 560.

The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America was incorporated February 11, 1762. This act was negatived by the Crown, because by its terms the acts of the Society would extend beyond the limits of the Province, and because it was not subject to audit or control.[1]

The Feoffees of the Ipswich Grammar School were again incorporated, this time for twenty-one years, 21 June, 1765.[2]

The Overseers of the Poor in the Town of Boston were incorporated 25 April, 1772.[3]

The Marine Society at Salem in the County of Essex was incorporated 25 April, 1772.[4]

The "Proprietors of Boston Pier, or the Long Wharf in the Town of Boston," were incorporated 14 July, 1772.[5]

The Marine Society at Marblehead in the County of Essex, was incorporated 29 June, 1773.[6]

An Act authorizing the Council to issue a charter to the Massachusetts Charitable Society was passed 16 December, 1779. The charter of this corporation was issued by the Council 15 March, 1780.[7]

[1] Province Laws, iv. 520, 560. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 806. [3] *Ibid.* v. 177, 187.

[4] *Ibid.* v. 179, 188 *et seq.* The passage of this act and of the act incorporating the Overseers of the Poor in the Town of Boston led to the discussion of a curious technical point. Both these corporations were originally created under acts which, following the analogy of king and Parliament, authorized the Governor to grant the Charters. This he declined to do; but when the acts were passed in the form of direct incorporations, he submitted them to the Lords of Trade. The question whether the power of granting Patents of Incorporation was or was not vested in the General Court was submitted to an attorney, Richard Jackson, who decided that under the Province Charter it was so vested. (Province Laws, v. 191.) Jackson's opinion was given 13 April, 1774.

[5] *Ibid.* v. 200, 262.

[6] *Ibid.* v. 295, 354.

[7] Province Laws, v. 1129, 1270 *et seq.* In making up this list of Province Corporations, my first impulse was to draw the line at the Declaration of Independence. This excluded from my list the Massachusetts Charitable Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Trustees of Phillips Academy, Andover. Mr. Goodell called my attention to the method of the Commissioners for the Publication of the Province Laws in the treatment of Laws passed during this transition period, when the future classification depended somewhat upon the result of the pending struggle. If that result had been adverse to the hopes of the Americans, there would have been no State under which to classify these corporations. They are therefore properly to be included among the Province Corporations.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences was incorporated 4 May, 1780.[1]

The Trustees of Phillips Academy, Andover, were incorporated 4 October, 1780.[2]

It will be observed that each of these charters was granted to a society having for its purpose some public use, with the exception of the Long Wharf Company; and the purposes of that corporation even might be regarded as a matter of deep public import. During the same period charters were freely granted in Great Britain to business corporations of various sorts. As early as 1697, Parliament passed an act in restraint of stock-jobbing; and although it is known that many of the stocks dealt in were not those of incorporated companies, still the language of the Bubble Act, in 1720, shows that there were among the companies whose stocks were hawked about at the coffee-houses, many which were incorporated. The passage of that act could not at first have had a direct restraining influence in the Province, for it was by its terms apparently applicable only to Great Britain, and it was not until 1741 that it was declared to have originally applied and to be then in force in all and every his Majesty's dominions, colonies, and plantations in America.[3] It is true this act was taken advantage of in the Province to punish the persons engaged in the Land Bank of 1740, but it is evident, from the language of the act, that its original purpose was solely to suppress the speculative mania which wrought such distress in London during the South Sea speculation, and no natural interpretation of the original act could have influenced Provincial legislation. It was not intended to repress in any manner the development of legitimate enterprises, and its power was never invoked in that direction. It seems to me that but one inference can be drawn, namely, that the hesitation and doubt which evidently characterized Colonial legislation on this point, still acted as a restraint in Provincial days; and inasmuch as the power to grant Charters was recognized as inherent under the Province Charter, subject only to approval by the proper authorities, it may be inferred that the

[1] Province Laws, v. 1194, 1369, 1370.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 1418, 1456 *et seq.*

[3] Statutes at Large, vi., 14 George II., chap. 37, pp. 164–168.

restraints imposed upon legislation of this class in the days of the Colony were simply for the purpose of avoiding unnecessary collisions with the Crown.

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Davis's paper, Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL, Jr., offered these remarks: —

As no other member seems inclined to continue the discussion of the topic which Mr. Davis has presented for consideration in his interesting paper, I feel that I may escape censure for speaking too often if I take the opportunity to say a word or two in amplification of some portions of this essay, which, so far as I know, is the best and fullest résumé of the subject that has ever been prepared.

The facts which Mr. Davis has shown respecting Andros's assumption of authority over the finances of the College seem to have been overlooked by former students of its history, and are most significant. At first view the declaration in the legislative vote of 1707 that the college charter "has not been repealed or nulled" appears to sustain the theory that the ordinances of the colony were not repealed by the vacation of the colony charter, and Dudley by consenting to this vote may be assumed to have approved this theory, — a position which, taken in connection with his well-known relations to the College during his Presidency of the Council, and later, under Andros, would be a very strong if not conclusive answer to those who maintain the view that the colonial ordinances fell with the charter. The peremptory commands of Andros to the Treasurer, however, shown in the extracts which Mr. Davis produces from the record, prove not that the original charter had been unaffected by the judicial decree, but that Andros exercised the prerogative right of visitation as the king's representative, which not only indicates, but actually effected, its revival and continuance.

This express recognition of the corporate existence of the College, together with the previous action of Dudley, — and the subsequent acknowledgment by the revolutionary government, and, still later, by the charter and government of the Province, — as shown in the essay, completes the chain of those circumstances which go to establish the fact that the Corporation was kept alive through all the changes and vicissitudes occurring between the colonial period and its formal re-establishment in 1707.

The Corporation having existed from a period certainly as early as 1650, with only provisional changes in its constitution made to suit peculiar exigencies, the reaffirmance of the original act creating it was a proceeding legitimately within the power of the Legislature. This fact did not escape the astute perception of Dudley; nor, as has been supposed,[1] was the vote of 1707 inconsistent with the theories which had been held by him or others respecting the authority to grant charters, and respecting the effect upon colonial legislation of the judgment annulling the charter of King Charles. The vote was not an act of incorporation. The corporate body already existed; and it existed, not because it had survived, of its own innate force, the adverse judgment against the colony charter, but because it had been kept alive, regularly and continuously, through every administration since that charter was annulled. The vote of 1707 was the formal ratification of a plan of management of the College and of a system of visitation intended to last until repealed by superior executive authority or by subsequent legislation; but, as the sequel proved, it endured unchanged through the entire Provincial period.

Remarks were also made by Mr. Henry H. Edes and Mr. Robert N. Toppan respecting the power to coin money granted in the early charters, and the extent to which it was exercised.

[1] Quincy's History of Harvard University, i. 160.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1894.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on Wednesday, 21 February, 1894, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

The President having been unavoidably detained from the meeting, Dr. HENRY P. QUINCY was called to the chair.

After the records of the previous meeting had been read, the following-named gentlemen were elected Resident Members: —

JOHN BARTLETT.
ELIOT CHANNING CLARKE.
CHARLES HENRY DAVIS.
ARTHUR LAWRENCE.
HENRY WALBRIDGE TAFT.
DAVID RICE WHITNEY.

At this stage of the proceedings the President entered the Hall. Whereupon Dr. Quincy retired from the chair, which was then taken by Dr. GOULD.

Mr. ROBERT N. TOPPAN read the following paper: —

THE RIGHT TO COIN UNDER THE COLONIAL CHARTERS.

THE Charter of Virginia of 1606, which established the two colonies, extending from 34 to 45 degrees of north latitude, called the first and the second, the one for the south and the other for the north, contained the following section: —

"And that they shall or lawfully may establish and cause to be made a coin to pass currant there between the people of those several Colonies for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there of such Metal and in such Manner and Forme as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint." [1]

[1] The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the United States, Ben: Perley Poore, ii. 1890.

The grant was expressed in general terms and did not limit the coinage to the alloy or weight of the English money then current.

The second charter, 1609, to the first Colony — the Virginia Company — which was supposed to enlarge the scope of the first charter did not allude to the right of coinage in express terms, but it contained the confirmation of that right in the following words: —

"And further we do by these Presents *ratify* and *confirm* unto the said Treasurer and Company and their Successors all the Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, and Immunities granted in our former Letters patents, and not in these our Letters patents revoked, altered, changed or abridged."[1]

The third charter to Virginia, of 12 March, 1611–12 was also silent in regard to the right of issuing coin, but all privileges and franchises granted in former patents not expressly revoked were confirmed, which would seem to have kept that right alive.

A *quo warranto* having been brought against the Company for alleged misdemeanors, judgment was given in the King's Bench in 1624 in favor of the Crown, and Virginia was bereft of her chartered rights.[2]

Notwithstanding the judgment against the Company, we find that in 1645, while the civil war was still raging in England, and it was doubtful whether victory would incline to the royal or parliamentary cause, and almost seven years before the arrival of the parliamentary commissioners to reduce Virginia to a modified obedience to the Commonwealth of England, an Act was passed in the Colony authorizing the coining of copper pieces of the value of two pence, three pence, six pence, and nine pence, and appointing Captain John Upton mint-master.[3] The Act begins as follows: "Act XX. The Governor, Council, and Burgesses of this present Grand Assembly having maturely weighed & considered how advantageous a quoine current would be to this collony, etc." No coins were struck under that Act. Foreign coins were, however, valued by a

[1] The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the United States, Ben: Perley Poore, ii. 1908.

[2] Narrative and Critical History of America, iii. 146; Political Annals of the United Colonies, George Chalmers, i. 62.

[3] Early Coins of America, Sylvester S. Crosby, p. 21.

legal enactment, and made legal tender in payment of debts. The last time that this was done by the Assembly was in 1679, when Lord Culpepper, then governor, declared that the right of regulating the value of foreign coins was a royal prerogative, and as representative of the King, he issued a proclamation to that effect, annulling the act passed by the Assembly.[1]

In connection with Virginia a few words about the Bermudas or the Somers or Sommer's islands, as they were then called, after Sir George Somers, one of the earliest visitors to the islands, and who died there, may not be uninteresting. The Somers islands were supposed to be included in the Virginia grant, although actually outside the limits of the patent. The right to the islands was sold by the general company to an under-company in 1612, and a "Commission granted by us the undertakers for the Plantacon of Somer Islands," was issued 27 April of that year. In the Commission they establish the rates of wages to be paid to the laborers, and for their payment they add, "for which purpose by the next supplie there shall be a Coyne sent unto you with all convenient opportunitie together with the rates and value thereof."[2]

In 1615 the Bermuda Company — a separate organization from the Virginia Company — received a charter from King James I., which confirmed the coinage clause of the Virginia charter of 1606.

"And wee doe further for us our heires and successors give and grant to the said Governor and Company and theire successors that they shall and lawfully may establish and cause to bee made a Coyne to pass currant in the said Somer islands betweene the Inhabitants there for the more ease of commerce and bargaining between them of such metall and in such manner and forme as the said Governor and Company in any of the said Generall Courts shall limitt and appoynt."[3]

It is probable that the copper coins which have been found, bearing on the obverse the Roman numerals XII. and VI., with a hog in the centre (on account of the number of those animals on the islands), and the words *Sommer Islands*, and on the reverse a four-

[1] Early Coins of America, Sylvester S. Crosby, p. 23.

[2] Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, Major-General John Henry Lefroy, i. 59.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 98.

masted ship under full sail, were struck in England under the charter of the Bermuda Company, and not under that of Virginia. The supposed date of issue is between 1616 and 1619.[1] The charter of the Bermuda Company was forfeited by judgment in the King's Bench in 1684.

In 1620, four years before the Virginia charter was annulled by process of law, the charter of New England was issued. This charter after reciting former grants adds: —

"Wee also doe by these Presents ratifye and confirme unto the said Councill and their Successors all Priviliges, Franchises, Liberties, Immunities granted in our former Letters patents and not in these our Letters patents revoaked, altered, changed, or abridged." [2]

It would seem, therefore, that the right of coinage was still continued to the Council of New England, as there had been no express revocation of that right. In 1627–28 the Council of New England made a grant to the Massachusetts Company, which was confirmed and enlarged by Charles I. the next year. In this royal charter of 1628–29[3] there is no mention of coinage whatever; the right to coin is neither expressed nor revoked, but power is given —

"to make, ordeine, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, Direccons and Instruccons not contrarie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England." [4]

The charter also contained the following clause: —

"The letters patents shalbe construed, reputed, and adjudged in all cases most favorablie on the behalf and for the benefitt and behoofe of the saide Governour and Company and their Successors." [5]

Under its charter the Massachusetts Colony rated cattle, declared bullets to be a legal tender up to one shilling in 1634–35 for

[1] Early Coins of America, Sylvester S. Crosby, p. 17.

[2] The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the United States, Ben: Perley Poore, i. 931.

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 16.

[4] The phrase "not contrary to the laws of England," was construed by the colonists to mean, not contrary to the *spirit* of those laws, so that any modification that took place gradually, or was due to a change of circumstances, was not looked upon as in violation of their chartered rights and obligations.

[5] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 19.

a short time, made wampum a lawful currency in limited amounts for nearly ten years, valued silver-plate in payment of debts, made foreign money a legal tender at certain valuations, and finally in 1652 issued its own coins. The first shilling, sixpence, and threepence, bore simply the letters N. E. in one corner of the obverse, and the Roman numerals XII., VI., III. on the reverse.[1] As these coins were easily clipt and counterfeited, another series was issued in the autumn of the same year. In the centre of the obverse a tree surrounded with the words *Masathusets in;* in the centre of the reverse "1652," and the value in Roman numerals, below the year, surrounded by the words *New England. An. Dom.* The tree in the first issue has been called a willow, in the second an oak, and in the third a pine tree. A two-penny piece was added in 1662. The mint continued to coin for about thirty years. The right to coin does not seem to have been called in question by any of the Colonists, as was the case in Maryland, neither was the right questioned by the Parliamentary government, nor by the Protectorate.

After the restoration, when the royal commissioners came to New England with the avowed purpose of making those Colonies, and especially Massachusetts, more dependent upon the Crown, they, in 1665, among other things, demanded that the mint in Boston should be abolished: —

"That page 61 title Money, the law y^{t} a mint house etc. be repealed, for Coyning is a Royall prerogative, for the vsurping of which ye act of indemnity is only a Salvo."[2]

The determined attitude of the Massachusetts authorities defeated all attempts made by the royal commissioners to carry out their plans, who went back to England bearing with them a feeling that Massachusetts would have to be treated with great circumspection, — a feeling that lasted until Edward Randolph, in 1676, was sent out to report upon the condition of the colony. Randolph was a strong partisan of monarchy and the Anglican Church, and a determined upholder of the royal prerogative, who used to compare the Massachusetts authorities to the Rump Parlia-

[1] Early Coins of America, Sylvester S. Crosby, pp. 45–54.
[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part ii. 213.

ment. In his report that year to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, Randolph says: —

"And as a marke of Soveraignty they coin money stamped with inscription Mattachusetts, and a tree in the centre, and the value of the piece on the reverse. Their money is of the standard of England for finnesse, the shillings weigh three penny weight Troy, in value of English money ninepence farthing, and the smaller coins proportionable. These are the current monies of the colony, and not to be transported thence on penalty of confiscation of the whole visible estate of the transporters. All the money is stamped with these figures, 1652, that year being the aera of the Commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free state, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent colonies under their obedience, and summoned deputies to sitt in the generall court, which year is still commemorated on their coin." [1]

In 1677 Randolph again says in his "Representation of the Affairs of New England": "They coin money with their owne Impress." [2] The Privy Council taking up the "Representation," ordered on 12 June of the same year that the —

"Fourth Head concerning coining of money and the Fifth that have put his mat[ies] Subjects to death for Religion are to be referred and examination to bee made whether by their Charter, or by the right of making Laws they are enabled soe to doe." [3]

The Massachusetts agents, William Stoughton and Peter Bulkeley, being called before the Committee on 19 July, —

"say that upon the Article where they are charged to have coyned money, they confess it, and say they were necessitated to it, about the yeare 1652, for the support of their Trade, and have not hitherto discontinued it, as being never excepted against, or disallowed by his Ma[ty], And doe therefore submit this matter to His Maj[tie] and beg pardon, if they have offended." [4]

[1] Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers (Prince Society's Edition), ii. 213.

[2] State Papers, in the Public Record Office, London. I refer to these papers under two headings: State Papers, Colonial; and State Papers, Colonial Entry Book. The papers of the first series are in what are called bundles. The present reference is, State Papers, Colonial, Bundle 52, 112.

[3] State Papers, Colonial, Entry Book, cv. 60.

[4] *Ibid.* cv. 89.

The agents are again called in before the Committee 27 July, and are told among other things, —

"That whereas they had transgressed in presuming to Coyne money, which is an Act of Sovereignty, and to which they were by noe Grant sufficiently authorized, that tho' his Majtie may upon due application grant them a charter containing such a Power, yet they must Sollicit His Majties Pardon for the offence that is past." [1]

The agents are again called in on 2 August, and told that they (the agents) must see Mr. Attorney-General —

"touching the model of such a pardon as they stand in need of from his Majtie for their Coyning of money without authority." "That an Additional charter bee prepared containing a Power from his Majty to Coyne money and to make all forreigne coine current in that Country." [2]

10 October, 1678, the General Court of Massachusetts wrote to the agents, who were still in London, suggesting that the King himself should select a design for the Massachusetts coinage: —

"Wee shall take it as his Majties signall ouning vs if he will please to order such an Impresse as shall be to him most acceptable." [3]

There is not the slightest intimation in the letter that they intended to stop coining.

Randolph having arrived in Boston as Collector of Customs in December, 1679, reports to the home government on 4 January, 1679–80, "That the Government of Boston continue still to collect customs & coine money." [4]

Being almost constantly obstructed in the exercise of his official duties, Randolph, on 6 April, 1681, petitioned the King that a *quo warranto* should be brought against the government of Massachusetts. Among the reasons assigned for annulling the charter he states: —

"They do also continue to coin money wch their agents in their Petition to yr Majtie acknowledged a great crime & misdemeanor, demanded your Maties Pardon to the Govmt for soe doing." [5]

[1] State Papers, Colonial, Entry Book, cv. 95.
[2] *Ibid.* cv. 99.
[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 203.
[4] State Papers, Colonial, Bundle 53, 212.
[5] *Ibid.* Bundle 53, 216.

Stoughton and Bulkeley having come home, Joseph Dudley and John Richards were chosen their successors. On 23 March, 1681–82, the General Court gave their instructions to the new agents. The second instruction reads: —

"You shall Informe his maj^tie that wee tooke up stamping of silver merely upon necessitie, to prevent cheats of false peeces of eight, which were brought hither in the time of the late confusions, and wee have been well informed that his maj^tie had knowledge thereof, yet did not manifest any dissatisfaction thereat, until of very late, and if that be a tresspasse upon his maj^ties royall prerogative, of which wee are ignorant, wee humbly beg his maj^ties pardon and gratious allowance therein, It being so extremely necessary for our civil commerce, & no way, as wee humbly conceive, detrimentall to his royal ma^tie." [1]

On 24 May of the same year, 1682, the General Court passed an Act making Spanish and Mexican pieces current money at a certain valuation, as the New England money was being exported in large amounts.[2]

4 June, 1683, "Articles ag^t ye Govm^t & Company of ye Mas̃ Bay in New England" were presented by Randolph. The first article reads: "They have erected a Publick Mint in Boston and coine money with their owne Impress." [3]

As is well known a *quo warranto* was brought against Massachusetts without effect in 1683, Attorney-General Sawyer saying:

"The Sheriff's principal objection why he could not returne a Summons was because the notice was given after the returne was past. He did also make it a question whether he could take notice of New England being out of his balywick. Upon advice with the King's Councill I conceive the best way to reach them will bee by a *Scire facias* against the Company to repeale the patent." [4]

While still ignorant as to the result of the suit in chancery, the General Court, 30 October, 1684, prepared an answer to the King respecting the charges made against them, in which they say: —

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 347.
[2] *Ibid.* v. 351.
[3] State Papers, Colonial, Bundle 54, 105.
[4] *Ibid.* Bundle 54, 188.

"As for the minting and stamping pieces of silver to pass amongst ourselves for XII^{d}, VI^{d}, III^{d}, wee were necessitated thereunto having no staple comodity in our country to pay debts or buy necessaries but Fish & Corne, which was so cumbersome & troublesome as could not be born, And therefore for some years Paper Bills passed for payment of debts, which were very subject to be lost, rent or counterfeited & other inconveniences. Then comes in a considerable quantity of light base Spanish money, whereby many people were cousened, and the Colony in danger of being undon thereby, which put us upon the project of melting it down & stamping such pieces as aforesaid to pass for paym^{t} of debts amongst our selves. Nor did we know it to be against any Law of England or against His Maj^{ties} will or pleasure, till of late, but rather that there was a tacit allowance & approbation of it, For in 1662 when our first agents were in England, some of our money was shewed to Sir Thomas Temple at the Council Table, and no dislike thereof manifested by any of those honorable Persons, much less a forbidding of it." [1]

Immediately after the vacating of the charter in 1684, the question arose as to the advisability of continuing the mint in Boston as a royal one. The mint authorities in England wrote: —

"Wee are humbly of opinian, if his Maj^{ty} shall think fitt to settle a Mint in N. E. for making of Coyns of silver of 12 pences 6^{d} & 3^{d}, that they be made in weight & fineness answerable to his Majestys silver Coyns of England & not otherwise." [2]

The mint was not re-established. A little more than two years afterwards, under the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, another effort was made to have the mint opened, but without success. However, the Governor had power given him by the King to regulate the value of foreign pieces, which he did on 10 March, 1686–87.

"That all peices of Eight of Civill Pillar and Mexico of 17$^{d}\frac{1}{2}$ weight shall payment at six shillings a peice, and that the p^{r}sent New England money do pass for value as formerly, the half peices of Eight quarters Royalls and half Royalls do pass pro rato (as meant Coyn and Value) Spanish pistolls at 4 penny 6 grains at 22^{d} N. E. Money." [3]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cvi. 334.

[2] Early Coins of America, Sylvester S. Crosby, p. 89.

[3] Andros Council Records, p. 56. These records are the original minutes

This order is interesting as showing that, although the mint had been suppressed, the New England money was still to be considered legal currency.

The charter of Nova Scotia, or as it was then called, New Scotland, of 1621, grants full power of coinage to Sir William Alexander: —

"Also, we, for ourselves and our successors, give and grant to the said Sir William and his aforesaids the free power of regulating and coining money for the freer commerce of those inhabiting the said province, of any metal, in what manner and of what form they shall choose and direct for the same." [1]

The second charter, of 1625, confirms the right to coin, adding these words: —

"We give grant commit to them, or their heirs and assignes, lieutenants of the said country [Lordship of New Scotland] the privilege of coining money with iron instruments, and with officers necessary for that purpose." [2]

No coins were struck.

The grant of New Hampshire in 1629 from the Council of New England to Captain John Mason, assigned "all Prerogatives, Rights, Royalties, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, Pre-eminences, etc." [3] The jurisdiction of Mason was, however, not acquiesced in or allowed.

The charter of Maryland, 1632, granted to Lord Baltimore the rights of a Bishop of Durham, "cum amplis Juribus, Jurisdictionibus, Privilegis, Praerogativis, Libertatibus, etc., juribusque regalibus, etc.," appertaining to a Bishop of Durham.[4] That bishopric

of the early Council meetings. They are in manuscript, and in possession of the American Antiquarian Society. They differ somewhat from the copies at the State House, which were procured from England.

[1] Sir William Alexander and American Colonization (Prince Society's Publications), p. 143.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 229.

[3] Captain John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire (Prince Society's Publications), p. 191.

[4] The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the United States, Ben: Perley Poore, i. 812.

had certain feudal rights belonging to a County Palatinate, among those rights that of "coining money at the Mint in Durham." The last bishop who actually exercised his right to coin was Cuthbert Tunstall, who was deposed in 1558; but it was not until 1836 that an Act of Parliament was passed by which "all temporal jurisdictions and privileges were declared to be forever removed from the Bishopric."[1] Lord Baltimore had silver shillings, sixpence, and fourpence (called groats), of about the weight and fineness of the New England coins, struck in London apparently in 1659, from an order of the Council of State: —

"Wednesday 5 octob^{r}, 1659. The Councell being Informed that a great quantity of Silver is coyned into peeces of diverse rates & values and sent into Maryland by the Lo. Baltamore or his Order^{s}, Ordered, that the said Lo. Baltamore be Sum̄oned to attend the Com̄ittee of the Councell for Plantac̄ons, who are to inquire into the whole business and to report the State thereof to the Councell."[2]

Those coins bearing on the obverse Lord Baltimore's bust, with the words *Cæcilius Dvs. Terræ-Mariæ etc.*, and on the reverse the family coat of arms surmounted by a crown, with the words *Crescite et Multiplicomini*, do not seem to have been used in the Colony to any great extent until 1661.

During the discussions, relative to establishing a mint in Maryland, by the Assembly from 1660 to 1662, "a memorandum" was made by the lower house, "that the dissenters to this vote dissented upon this ground, that they were not entirely informed that the County Palatine of Durham had liberty to coin."[3] The Act was, however, passed in 1662, when it was voted "that the Lieutenant Generall be desired to confirme that acte in the Lord Proprietor's name."[4]

The grant of the Province of Maine by Charles I., 1639, confirming the grant of 1622, made by the Council of New England, gives to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, —

"All the rights, privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, etc., as the Bishop of Durham within the Bishopricke or Countie Palatine of Duresme in our

[1] The County of Durham, Joseph Richard Boyle, pp. 68, 74.
[2] Early Coins of America, Sylvester S. Crosby, p. 130.
[3] Maryland Archives, i. 400. [4] *Ibid.* i. 429.

Kingdome of England now hath useth or enjoyeth or of right ought to have, use or enjoye within the said Countie Palatine." [1]

The charter of Connecticut, 1662, of Rhode Island, 1663, and the grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn, 1681, are silent in regard to the right of coining.

The first charter, 1663, to the Lords Proprietors of North Carolina gave them full power of the Bishops of Durham. Section 4 says,

"To have, use, exercise and enjoy, and in as ample manner as any Bishop of Durham in our kingdom of England ever heretofore have held, used or enjoyed, or of right might, ought or could have, use or enjoy." [2]

This was confirmed by the second charter, 1665. The "fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," drawn up by Locke, 1669, commence, —

"Our Sovereign Lord the King having out of his royal grace and bounty granted unto us the Province of Carolina with all the royalties, properties, jurisdictions, and privileges of a County Palatine as large and ample as the County Palatine of Durham, etc." [3]

No coins seem to have been struck for North Carolina. The copper pieces bearing the figure of an elephant on the obverse, and on the reverse the words, *God preserve Carolina and the Lords Proprietors,* and the date 1694, were evidently intended not as money, but as tokens or medals.

During the discussion which followed, Mr. Toppan exhibited to the Society a specimen of the first coinage of the Mint in Boston.

Mr. S. Lothrop Thorndike read the following paper: —

[1] Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine (Prince Society's Publications), ii. 127.

[2] The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the United States, Ben: Perley Poore, ii. 1383.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 1397.

THE PSALMODIES OF PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

I HAVE been asked to say something about the origin of the Psalmodies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and about certain characteristic differences between them. Much has been written upon English metrical psalmody, but its critical examination from the musical standpoint is of comparatively recent date. The best summary of results is the excellent article upon the Psalter in the last volume of Grove's Encyclopædia; but no such exhaustive work has yet been done for English psalmody as has been performed for the French by Douen in his "Clément Marot et le Psaultier Huguenot." Our American works upon psalm-singing, as introduced into this country where it formed so important a part of the religious life of our ancestors, are singularly defective. For instance, I have looked in vain for any adequate account of the tunes adopted by Ainsworth, the psalmodist of the Pilgrims. Hood, in his History of Music in New England, and Moore, in his so-called Encyclopædia of Music, though psalm-singing is their specialty, show no signs of having looked at them with any care.

In the absence of authorities, I thought it worth while a few years ago to examine for myself the tunes which the Pilgrims of Plymouth actually brought with them from Holland in Ainsworth's book, and to compare them with what the Puritans brought to Salem and Boston in Sternhold and Hopkins, as well as with the musical settings of the French psalms of Marot and Beza. I found the investigation extremely interesting in the antiquarian view, and far more interesting than I had anticipated in the musical.

For the purpose of establishing a chronology, and of showing the circumstances under which metrical psalmody in the English tongue began, may I say a word or two about Puritanism itself? As an "ism" within the body of the Established Church of England it started, loosely speaking, in the reign of Edward VI. I say loosely speaking, for nothing begins definitely. Puritanism sprang from seed sown by Wiclif in 1380, and the Lollards in the centuries which followed, and Tyndale in 1525, and Coverdale in 1540. But for ordinary purposes, we may consider it to have started with

Edward's reign, which began in 1547. In 1550 John Hooper was nominated to the see of Gloucester and refused to wear the episcopal robes. The vestments of the clergy were for him the livery of the scarlet woman. The first Puritan outbreak was a matter of clothes, and John Hooper was the first Puritan.

Queen Mary, a sincere and devoted Papist, came to the throne in July, 1553. One of the first victims of her sincerity and devotion was Hooper. He died at the stake with Rogers and Saunders and Taylor in February, 1555. Meantime all foreign Protestants had been ordered to depart from England, and hundreds of English also fled for their lives to Strasburg, Zurich, and other places where the reformed religion was already established. Whittingham, who will presently be mentioned as one of the early psalmodists, and some others went to Frankfort. There appears the second outburst of Puritanism as distinct from mere Protestantism. This was about a book, as the first had been about robes. The more advanced reformers objected to certain things in King Edward's prayer-book. The conservatives insisted on retaining them. The breach in the English Reformed Church was complete, and the radicals left Frankfort and betook themselves to Geneva and Calvin. This is the tale of the matter which has passed into history as the "Troubles at Frankfort."

It is noteworthy that the Lutheran Reformation of Germany, though often spoken of in connection with the English Reformation which followed it, had little effect upon or sympathy with the later upheaval. The Lutherans were monarchical in politics and conservative in creed. They averred that they would rather turn back to Rome than tolerate heretics who denied the corporal presence. They proclaimed those who perished at the stake under Mary to be the devil's martyrs, — "martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli." This holding asunder of the two churches showed itself curiously in psalmody, as in other things, only one of the Lutheran chorals having been traced into early Puritan psalmody.

All this digression is merely by way of reminder that Puritanism began to take shape in Edward's reign, which lasted from 1547 to 1553; that it was crushed out with all other forms of Protestantism in Mary's reign, which lasted five years; and that it revived again under Elizabeth, who reached the throne in 1558.

In 1549, the third year of Edward's reign, or perhaps in the year before, for the book bears no date, Thomas Sternhold published a metrical version of nineteen of the Psalms. He was Groom of the Robes to Henry and Edward, and was noted at court for his poetical talent and his piety. His piety is beyond doubt; of his poetical talent there may be more question. He has been sometimes compared with his more distinguished contemporary Clément Marot, the French versifier of psalms. Both were courtiers, Marot being valet of the bedchamber to Francis I. Both made their godly ballads with a view of giving the gay people of court something better to sing than their indelicate love-songs. Both died early, leaving their work to be finished by others. Here the parallel ceases. Marot lived in a literary circle and was himself a brilliant writer, a man of literary skill, taste, and experience. Sternhold died before the Elizabethan era of literature had begun, three years before the birth of Spenser, fifteen years before that of Shakespeare. This must be taken into account in passing upon the literary merit of Sternhold's verse. Puritanism reached its chief prominence in religious and political history so long after the time of Elizabeth that we are apt to forget its early beginnings, and that its psalmody was one of its earliest fruits. We must, moreover, remember that Sternhold, unlike Marot, did not write his verses as literature; they were sacred ballads for the people, and made no more pretence to literature than the secular ballads upon which he founded them, the rhythm of which he mainly adopted. The rhythm of a common metre tune is the rhythm of Chevy Chase. We must, I fear, admit that the secular ballad was enough better than its sacred copy to secure a longer lease of life. The only specimen of Sternhold which has preserved vitality enough to be found in modern hymn-books, or in books of familiar quotations, is the hymn beginning, —

"The Lord descended from above, and bowed the heavens high;"

which, as ordinarily given, consists of two verses of the 18th Psalm and a third, much altered, from the 29th Psalm. Sternhold died in the very year of the publication of his book.

This little book of nineteen Psalms, printed without music, was the beginning of that version which, under the familiar name of Sternhold and Hopkins, was the classic of Puritan psalmody in

England and in Massachusetts Bay. I say of Puritan psalmody, though its author was a good churchman; for it is beyond question that the desire to put sacred things into English verse, which could be sung of all the people, was a tendency of the Puritan side of the Church of England long before any definite separation had taken place, and Sternhold's was not the first attempt. Sir Thomas Wyatt had already translated some Psalms, and the Earl of Surrey others; and in the very year of Sternhold's publication a complete version was published by Robert Crowley, for which, moreover, he furnished a tune for the singing, much like the modern Anglican chant. Even Cranmer, years before, in the reign of Henry, had recognized the popular demand. In a letter to the king, in 1544, he speaks of a Latin hymn, of which he says: —

"I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless, they that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof to see how English would do in song. But by cause mine English verses lack the grace and facility that I would wish they had, your Majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase."

In spite of Cranmer's self-depreciation, I think that we may all wish we had his English verses.

All that was done for metrical psalmody in the Anglican Church, except the version of Sternhold and Hopkins, does not concern us New Englanders, and therefore I will confine myself to that version. In December of the year of Sternhold's death, 1549, an edition of thirty-seven of his Psalms was published with a supplement of seven by John Hopkins, making forty-four. A second edition followed in 1550, and a third in 1553, with a further supplement of seven Psalms by Whittingham, making fifty-one, and a fourth in the same year. Still there is no music inserted. Meantime some other versions were published, one with music, but, as I have said, these do not concern us. In July, 1553, King Edward died, and metrical psalmody with aught else that savored of Protestantism subsided in England for five years.

We have followed the English Reformers to Geneva sometime about 1555. Here the French Calvinist Psalter, commonly known as that of Marot and Beza, was fast approaching completion. The

first Genevan edition of thirty Psalms had been published in 1542, and some portions of this had previously appeared at Strasburg and Antwerp. Other editions, constantly enlarged, appeared in 1543, 1551, and 1554. The completed version appeared in 1562, the very year in which we shall see presently that the completed Sternhold and Hopkins appeared on the other side of the Channel.

These Genevan Psalters were all furnished with tunes, but with the melody only, for Calvin had an aversion to the use of harmony, and as long as he lived any psalmody arranged for part singing had to be printed outside of Geneva. Some of these tunes were of German origin, picked up by Calvin when he was expelled from Geneva in 1538 and went to Strasburg; some were constructed out of earlier melodies; and some, Old Hundred, for instance, were adapted from popular secular songs.

In 1556 the fifty-one psalms already translated into English by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others, and carried to Geneva by the Reformers, received their first musical setting. An edition was published at Geneva in that year with many of those melodies which, under the name of Church Tunes or Proper Tunes, became the musical daily bread of the Puritans in Old England and New England for very many years. What were these earliest tunes? They were not for the most part direct adaptations of the French tunes which were then sounding through Geneva, for the early English verses were mainly in what we know as double common metre, and there were few French tunes of that day which would fit that measure. But the French tunes were evidently favorites, and some attempts were made to use pieces of them. For instance, we find fragments of Old Hundred, the French 134th Psalm, in the melodies of at least two of the English hymns, — the third and the sixty-eighth. But most of the church tunes were not copied directly from the French, either in whole or in part. They were composed, with more or less imitation of French and other Continental models, undoubtedly by English musicians who had fled to the Continent with the rest of the refugees. This appears from internal evidence of the tunes themselves, and is also alluded to in the classified index which Ravenscroft appended to his admirable edition of 1621.

When, on the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, the refugees flocked back to England they brought these tunes with them.

They were at once popular, and there was an immediate demand for liberty to sing them in the churches. The stricter Anglicans do not like to say much about this introduction of metrical psalmody into the Established Church. Heylin speaks of it as "permitted rather than allowed," but admits that it was afterwards printed and bound up with the common prayer-book, and at last added by the stationers to the end of the Bible. "This allowance," he says, "seems to have been rather a connivance than an approbation." Herbert Thorndike, in his "Just Weights and Measures" speaks of "these Psalms in Rhime being crowded into the Church by meer sufferance and so used without order of Law," and denies that they are "the exercise of Christian Devotion." Blunt, in his "Ritual Introduction to the Prayer Book," simply records a royal injunction in the second year of Elizabeth, that —

> "for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that at the beginning or in the end of the Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung a hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised."

So, whether by connivance or approbation, Sternhold and Hopkins crept into the Church of England, and so, in the year of grace 1559, began the public use of English metrical psalmody, from which many of us have enjoyed and many have suffered so much. It came to be considered, as Puritanism spread in the Church, an important feature, perhaps the most important in the service. Heylin complains of the reading of the lessons and the prose Psalms "being heard in many places with a covered head, but all men sitting bareheaded when the Psalm was sung." The Genevan parentage and Calvinistic flavor of the innovation were a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to the high-churchmen, and its gradual introduction, not only before and after service, but into the very body of the liturgy, before and after sermon, was deemed by them not only irreligious but positively unlawful.[1]

We have brought Sternhold and Hopkins down to the second year of Elizabeth with fifty-one Psalms translated. In 1560 there

[1] Mr. Thorndike here exhibited a Charles I. prayer-book with Sternhold and Hopkins bound in at the end, and stated that there were in the Athenæum and other large libraries many Bibles with the same appendix.

was an edition of sixty-four Psalms with more tunes adopted from the French psalter; in 1561 a Genevan edition with eighty-seven Psalms and some more importations of French tunes and more English imitations. They were beginning to copy French metres.

In 1562 came the complete version, printed by John Day, which was the classic of hymnody in England until Tate and Brady appeared in 1696, and in Massachusetts Bay until the Bay Psalm-Book was published in 1640.

I pass by Archbishop Parker's psalter of 1562, the Scotch psalters, and some other English ones, only interesting to New Englanders from the fact that a few of their tunes found their way later into Ravenscroft and so to New England, and will confine myself to Sternhold and Hopkins.

A second edition followed in 1562, a third in 1563, and others in 1564, 1565, and so on. These contain melodies of the old church tunes, sixty-five in all, of which thirty-two appeared in early editions. Among the new ones was the Lutheran Choral already mentioned. The various editions in the British Museum, from the beginning down to the present century, are numbered by hundreds.[1]

Meantime a harmonized setting of the tunes was printed in 1563 by the same publisher (Day), "which," says the titlepage, "may be sung to all musical instruments, set forth for the increase of virtue and abolishing of other vain and trifling ballads." Here we see a little concession to the spirit of the age in the suggestion of musical instruments; for this was the era of Elizabethan music, of madrigals and ballads and fal-las; and almost all the "vain and trifling ballads" which the titlepage inveighs against were set, in the phrase of the day, "for voices or viols." But it is also noticeable that we do not find among the earliest harmonizers of the Psalms a single one of the great composers of the day.

The next important musical setting of the book was by William Damon, published without the composer's consent by the connivance of a friend, a certain John Bull, for whose private edification the tunes had been prepared. This edition is chiefly remarkable for its introduction of single common metre for some of the Psalms,

[1] Mr. Thorndike here exhibited a copy of the edition of 1565, and various others earlier than 1620, including two copies of Este's harmonized edition.

in place of the old, almost universal, double common metre. When tunes afterwards came to be named, these were known as Cambridge, Oxford, Canterbury, and Southwell. Other harmonized editions followed, and in 1592 came a very important edition of Thomas Este, who wisely employed for the four-part setting musicians already distinguished as madrigalists. This is the last edition worth considering before the remarkable edition of Ravenscroft. In 1621 Thomas Ravenscroft, Mus. Bac., a chorister of St. Paul's, and a Cambridge graduate, published the edition, with ninety-seven tunes, which was then and afterwards universally received as the musical exponent of the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalms, — and this not merely in England, but on this side of the water. Endicott's copy of Ravenscroft is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and when the version of Sternhold and Hopkins was superseded by the Bay Psalm-Book, first published in 1640, in the "Admonition to the Reader," at the end of the latter book, the faithful are advised to use "the common tunes as they are collected out of our chief musicians by Thomas Ravenscroft," and again, "the tunes in our English Psalm-Books." And at last, when, about 1690, our ancestors managed to print for themselves a baker's dozen of tunes to be appended to the Bay Psalm-Book, only one was of French origin, and that was Old Hundred. Ravenscroft adopted largely the fashion of naming tunes, and many of his names have come down to the present day. This fashion seems to have been introduced in a few cases by Este, in whose book we find Glassenbury tune, Kentish tune, Suffolk tune, and Chesshire tune, all undoubtedly of purely British origin.

From all this it appears that the psalmody of Massachusetts Bay, like everything else which the Puritans brought with them, had a distinct English flavor. It was the atmosphere of the Established Church, though, of course, the Puritan side of that church.

At Plymouth all was different. The Pilgrims were the followers of Robert Brown, and it is one of the curiosities of history that that pure and steadfast sect should have originated with the most remarkable canter and re-canter of his day, who, after wrecking more congregations than any modern speculator has wrecked railroads, finally found his way back to the Church of England and

to an idle and dissolute life, and died in the prison to which he had been sent for resisting the constable who tried to collect his taxes.

When the Brownist church in London, called, after Brown's apostasy, Separatists or Independents, was broken up by the authorities, and the pastor, Francis Johnson, and a portion of his flock escaped to Holland, with them went Henry Ainsworth, the psalmodist of the Independents. In Amsterdam he passed the remainder of his life, and died there 10 January, 1618, — poisoned, it is said, by a Jew, in consequence of some controversy or failure of controversy (for the story is a little indistinct) with certain Rabbis concerning the prophecies. He was noted as a Hebrew scholar and annotator, and published works upon the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Solomon's Song, etc. His scholarship in rabbinical and oriental literature was supposed to be favorable to the Reform cause, as giving it a certain flavor of letters. Dexter mentions that it was found more useful in the late revision of the Bible than that of many divines of the Established Church. But Ainsworth proved such a poor poet that the scholars of the Continent thought that there must be two Ainsworths. His poetry is now merely one of the curiosities of literature; but for eighty years it was an important part of the spiritual food of the Pilgrims in Holland and Plymouth.

In 1612 he published at Amsterdam "The Book of Psalmes, Englished both in prose and metre," and it was often reprinted. Copies exist in England in the British Museum, and in the Bodleian; and in this country in the libraries of Harvard, Yale, and Andover, in the Prince Library, and especially in Dr. Dexter's, which has many editions. Prince's copy has a note in the Doctor's handwriting, —

> "I have seen an edition of this version in 1618 in quarto; and this version of Ainsworth was sung in the Plymouth Colony, and I suppose in the rest of New England, till the New England version was printed in 1640."

This supposition of the Doctor is a little large, but it is true that Ainsworth is mentioned, outside of the Plymouth Colony, in Ipswich and Salem until 1667. It was used in Plymouth until 1692, fifty-two years after the Bay Psalm-Book appeared. On the

other hand, I doubt very much whether Sternhold and Hopkins ever got into the Plymouth Colony.[1]

Now, with regard to the music, it shows a much greater French element than Ravenscroft. In the first place, Ainsworth frequently translated into French metres. Next, the connection of the Continental congregations with Calvinism was much closer than that of the English congregations after the return of the refugees. Still, this discrimination must not be carried too far. A good many Calvinist tunes, as we have seen, found their way from time to time to England; on the other hand, a good many Anglican tunes went over with Johnson and Ainsworth to Holland.

I have collated the two versions. Sparing you the exact figures, let me simply say that the Calvinist musical element is in much greater proportion in Ainsworth than in Ravenscroft and the other English books, and the Anglican element in much greater proportion in Ravenscroft and the other English books than in Ainsworth. Of the one hundred and twenty or more tunes in the English books, scarcely a ninth part is derived from the metrical psalmody of Marot and Beza. In Ravenscroft's ninety-seven, there are but eleven from Marot and Beza. On the other hand, of Ainsworth's thirty-nine, more than half are from Calvinist sources; nineteen are directly from Marot and Beza, and two which I have not traced are by metre and melody distinctly French. Again, the difference in proportion of origin is shown by a difference of proportion in metre. More than two thirds of the tunes in the English books are in what we call common metre; but in Ainsworth one sees the influence of the French taste in more varied versifications. Only eleven of his thirty-nine tunes are in common metre. Again, the tunes in Ravenscroft are admirably harmonized by the best musicians of the English Church, but Ainsworth has the simple melody. John Calvin, as we have seen, set his face strongly against part singing or the use of instruments.

Let me, in closing, notice one or two more examples of the difference between the two atmospheres of Boston and Plymouth. One phrase in the "Admonition" of the Bay Psalm-Book is curiously different from anything which could possibly have been said at Plymouth. In stating what tunes may be used from the old books, there is a direction to sing a certain kind of metre as the

[1] Mr. Thorndike here exhibited a copy of the 1618 edition of Ainsworth.

Pater Noster. This is a mere practical reference, but it is one that a Plymouth man would have gone a long way round to avoid making in that shape.

So, in Sternhold and Hopkins, the translation of the Commandments is headed *Audi, Israel*, the hymn for peace *Da pacem, Domine*. The Canticles have their old Roman names, — *Veni Creator*, *Venite exultemus*, *The Song of St. Ambrose called Te Deum*, *The Song of Zacharias called Benedictus*, *The Song of the Blessed Mary called Magnificat*, *The Creed of Athanasius called Quicumque Vult*, etc.; and over each of the Psalms is also its appropriate Latin title. All such phrases would, in Plymouth, have been merely symbols of the Woman of Babylon.

I have taken so much time and space that the story of music after it reached the Colonies must be left for another occasion. It will not be a cheerful topic. It must be the story of a complete departure from the golden reign of Elizabethan art, the era of Shakespeare, — not only the ignoring of all secular music, but the deterioration of sacred music even in its favorite form of psalmody. It is simply the history of a Decline and Fall. Volumes have been written upon the influence of Puritanism upon art, and one could not wish a better object lesson than its effect in New England. Musical art, like all other art, met in those days not only negative but positive discouragement. All the tendencies of the time were averse to its cultivation. Our forefathers were engaged in rearing the strong pillars which should support a Nation. The vine which was to twine around these pillars and lend them grace was left for later hands to plant and cherish.

Mr. G. Arthur Hilton presented a manuscript, the handwriting of which has been identified by our associate, Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., as that of Washington.[1] It was received by Mr. Hilton from the late Hon. Samuel Crocker Cobb, who in turn received it from his grandfather, General David Cobb. The document relates to the Society of the

[1] The Committee of Publication would call attention to Mr. Goodell's letter on page viii., *ante*, in which he states that he has changed his opinion as to the handwriting of this manuscript. The statement made on page 249, that Washington wrote this document, should of course be changed to correspond with the views expressed in this letter.

It having pleased the Supreme Governor of the Universe, in the disposition of human affairs, to cause the separation of the Colonies of North America from the domination of Great Britain, and to establish them, after a bloody conflict of eight years, Free, Independent and Sovereign States, connected by alliances, founded upon reciprocal advantage with some of the great Princes and Powers of the earth ✝.

I perpetuate therefore, as well the remembrance of this vast event, as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and in many instances cemented by the blood of the parties, - the Officers of the American Army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate - constitute and combine themselves into one Society of Friends to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, or in failure thereof, the collateral branches, who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.

The Officers of the American Army, having generally been taken from the Citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus - and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship again, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves The Society of the Cincinnati.

The objects of this association shall be

An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

An unalterable determination to promote, by all legal means, that union and harmony between the respective States, so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American Empire.

To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the Officers - This spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, towards those Officers who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it.

These principles shall be

be immutable - and shall form the basis of the Society of the Cincinnati.

The General Society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into State Societies, and these again subdivided into County Societies, or into such districts as shall be directed by the State Society.

The Societies of the Counties to meet once in every three months - those of the State once every year - and the General Society once every three years. At each meeting the principles of the institution will be fully considered, and the best measures to promote them adopted. It will however be necessary that the respective Societies should have particular duties assigned them, that the several parts may form one system.

The County Societies shall have a Vice President, Deputy Secretary and Deputy Treasurer to be chosen annually by themselves. The Deputy Secretary shall have a book, in which shall be recorded ~~[illegible]~~ the names of all the members of the General Society - the members who compose the State Society - and the particular members and officers of the County Society. In another book he shall regularly state the proceedings of the County Society, with all the official letters written and received. He shall also transmit to the Secretary of the State Society the names of the officers in the County Society for the current year.

The Deputy Treasurer shall have a book, in which shall be recorded an exact state of his proceedings, and of the monies which he may from time have received of the respective members and the appropriations of the same. At each quarterly meeting he shall receive such sums as the members may subscribe, for the relief of the indigent members of the State Society, and he shall transmit the same annually to the Treasurer of the State Society, together with the names of the subscribers.

It will be a rule that no money be subscribed but at the quarterly meetings, and that it shall be perfectly optional to subscribe or not, and in such sums as each member may think proper. Donations to the Society, by members or other persons, in any other manner than abovementioned, shall be considered as intended to form a general fund, for the use of the State Society. And such sums shall be formed into a fund accordingly, the interest of which only shall be expended, and the names of the donors recorded in the books of the County and State Societies.

The State Societies will consist of all the officers residing in each State respectively, or such of them

them as may think proper to attend. The Officers of the County Societies must attend, ex officio.

The State Societies shall have a President, Secretary and Treasurer, to be chosen annually, by a majority of votes, at the State meeting.

The State meeting shall write annually a circular letter to the other State Societies, noting whatever they may think worthy of observation respecting the good of the Society, or the general union of the United States — and giving information of the officers chosen for the current year. A copy of this letter shall be regularly transmitted to the Secretary General of the Society who [illegible] record it in a book to be assigned for that purpose.

The State Society will have a right to regulate every thing respecting itself, consistent with the general maxims of the Cincinnati — to judge of the qualifications of the members who may be proposed — and to expel any member, who by a conduct inconsistent with the gentleman and the man of honor, or by an opposition to the interests of the Community in general, or the Society in particular, may render himself unworthy to continue a member.

The monies which may be furnished by the County Societies, and the interest of the donations, shall be appropriated by the State Society, by a majority of votes, to the unfortunate members, or their widows and orphans.

The whole sum raised by subscription in the County Societies shall be distributed annually, for the first ten years after the institution, provided that proper objects claim the relief of the Society. But after that period, the interest only shall be expended, and the principal formed into a permanent fund, for the benevolent purposes before recited.

The general meeting of the Society shall consist of all the members who may find it convenient to attend. But the Officers, that is to say, the President, Secretary and Treasurer of the State Societies shall consider themselves under indispensable obligations to be present.

In the general meeting, the President General and the Secretary General shall be chosen to serve until the next triennial meeting.

The circular letters which have been written annually by the respective State Societies to each other, and their particular laws shall be read and confirmed, or otherwise as shall be judged proper — and all measures concerted which may conduce to the general intendment of the Society.

All the Officers of the American Army — as well those who have resigned with honor, or who have been de-

deranged by the resolutions of Congress upon the several reforms of the Army, as those who shall continue to the end of the war — are free to become parties to this institution, provided that they sign their names to the general rules in each State Society within two years after the Army shall be disbanded. The rank, time of service, resolutions of Congress by which any have been deranged, and place of residence must be added to each name.

Each State Society shall obtain a list of its members, and at the first annual meeting the State Secretary shall have engrossed two copies of the institution of the Society upon parchment, which every member present shall sign, and the Secretary shall endeavor to procure the signature of every absent member — one of those to be transmitted to the Secretary General, to be kept in the archives of the Society, and the other to remain in the hands of the State Secretary, and copies be given to the County Secretaries.

From the State lists the Secretary General must make out, at the first general meeting, a complete list of the whole Society, with a copy of which he will furnish each State Secretary, who shall transmit them to the County Societies.

The Society shall have an order by which they shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold or silver, of a proper size to receive the emblems — viz:

The principal figure, Cincinnatus — three senators presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns — on a field in the back ground, his wife standing at the door of their cottage — near it a plough and instruments of husbandry —

— round the whole,

Omnia reliquit servare Rempublicam.

— On the reverse —

Sun-rising — a city with open gates and vessels entering the port — Same crowning Cincinnatus with a wreath, inscribed Virtutis Præmium.

— below,

Hands joined supporting a heart, with the motto Esto Perpetua.

— round the whole, in Latin,

The Name of the Society and Year of its Institution.

The Foreign Officers who have served in the Army of the United States, and who have been honorably dismissed the service, shall be entitled to all the honors,

rights

Cincinnati, and its presence among the papers of Mr. Cobb is accounted for by the fact that both he and his grandfather were Vice-Presidents of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.[1] The following is the text[2] of the document, which is without heading: —

Whereas it has

[1] **It having** pleased the Supreme Governor of the Universe, in the disposition of human affairs, to cause the separation of the Colonies of North America from the domination of Great Britain, and **to establish them**, after a bloody conflict

to establish them

of eight years, Free, Independent, and Sovereign states,

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connected by alliances, founded **upon** reciprocal **advantage**, with some of the great Princes and Powers of the earth. —

[No break in Knox's MS.]

To perpetuate therefore, as well the remembrance of this

great

vast event, as the mutual friendships which have been

numerous

formed under the pressure of common danger, and in **many** instances cemented by the blood of the parties, — the Officers of the American Army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate - constitute and combine themselves into one

while

Society of Friends, to endure **as long as** they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, **or in failure thereof, the collateral branches**, who may be judged worthy of becoming its suppor[**ters**] and members.

[This may have been trimmed off from Knox's MS.]

[1] The Hon. Samuel Crocker Cobb succeeded to the Presidency of the Society in 1880, on the death of Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher. See pp. 14 and 15, *ante*.

[2] The manuscript pages are indicated in the printed text by broad-faced figures enclosed in brackets. The words in the text in **full-faced letters** were substituted by Washington for the words of Knox, which are given in the margin. Editorial comments in the margin are put in brackets, and when given in connection with Knox's words, the latter are put between quotation marks. The words in italics in the text were underlined by Washington in his manuscript. The punctuation is Washington's.

Knox's draught is dated "West point, 15 Apl. 1783," and headed, on the left, "Cincinnati." It is among the Knox Papers (xii. 92–93) in the cabinet of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society. A *fac simile* is in Memorials of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts (edition of 1873) between pp. 6 and 7.

The Officers of the American Army, having generally been taken from the Citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, *Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus* — and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship again, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves *The Society of the Cincinnati.*

Quinctius

[As first written by Knox: "without the imputation of presumption;" and "propriety" was interlined after the word "with."]

[Knox makes no break here.]

The objects of this association shall be

An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a *rational being* is a curse instead of a blessing.

[No break here in Knox's MS.]

An unalterable determination to promote, by all legal means, that union and harmony between the respective States, so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American Empire.

[No break in Knox's MS.]

To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the Officers — **This spirit will** dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, **towards those Officers who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it.**

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to those officers who unfortunately may be under the necessity of demanding it

[No break in Knox's MS.]

These principles shall be [1] [2] be immutable — and shall form the basis of the *Society of the Cincinnati.*

The General Society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into State Societies, and these again subdivided into County Societies, or into such districts as shall be directed by the State Society.

[No break in Knox's MS.]

Society

States

The **Societies** of the Counties to meet once in every three months — those of the **State** once every year — and the General Society once every three years. At each meeting the principles of the institution **will be fully considered, and** the best measures to promote them adopted. It will **however** be necessary that the respective Societies should have particular duties assigned **them,** that the several parts may form one system.

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[1] Catchword.

¶ The County Societies shall have a Vice President, Deputy Secretary and Deputy Treasurer to be chosen annually by themselves. ^ The Deputy Secretary shall have a book, in which shall be recorded ~~an exact state of his proceedings~~ the names of all the members of the General Society — the members who compose the state Society — and the particular members and officers of the County Society. **In** another book **he** shall ^ regularly **state** the proceedings of the County Society, with all the official letters written and received. He shall also transmit to the Secretary of the state Society the names of the officers **in** the County Society for the current year.

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The Deputy Treasurer shall have a book, in which shall be recorded an exact state of his proceedings, and of the monies which he may from time **have received** of the respective members and the appropriations of the same. At each quarterly meeting he shall receive such sums as the members may subscribe, for the relief of the indigent members of the state Society, and he shall transmit the same annually to the Treasurer of the state Society, together with the names of the subscribers.

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[Knox makes no break here.]

It will be a rule that no money ^ be **subscribed** but at the quarterly meetings, and that it shall be perfectly optional to subscribe or not, and **in** such sums as each member **may** think proper. [Donations to the Society, by members or other persons, in any other manner than abovementioned, shall be considered as intended to form a general fund, for the use of the state Society. and such sums shall be formed into a fund accordingly, the interest of which only shall be expended, and the names of the donors recorded in the books of the County and state Societies.]

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[This clause within brackets does not occur in Knox's draught, but seems to have been inserted by Washington.]

The state Societies will consist of all the Officers resid'ng in each state respectively, or such of them[1] [3] them as may think proper to attend. The Officers of the County Societies must attend, *ex officio*.

[1] Catchword.

The state Societies shall have a President, Secretary and Treasurer, to be chosen annually, by a majority of votes, at the state meeting.

The state meeting shall write annually a circular letter to the other state Societies, noting whatever they may think worthy of observation respecting **the good** of the Society or the general **union** of the United states — and giving information of the officers chosen for the current year. A copy of this letter shall be **regularly** transmitted to the Secretary General of the Society, who shall record **it** in a book to be **assigned** for that purpose.

["the good," interlined by Knox, but cancelled]
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The state Society will have **a** right to regulate every thing respecting itself, consistent with the general maxims of the *Cincinnati* — to judge of the qualifications of the members who may be proposed — **and** to expel any member, who by a conduct inconsistent with **the** gentleman and **the** man of honor, or by an opposition to the interests of the Community in general, or **the** Society in particular, may render himself unworthy to continue a member.

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The monies which may be furnished by the County Societies, **and the interest of the donations**, shall be appropriated by the state Society, by a majority of votes, to the unfortunate members, or their widows **and** orphans.

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[No break in Knox's MS.]

The whole sum raised **by subscription in the County Societies** shall be distributed annually, for the first ten years **after** the institution, provided that proper objects claim the relief of the Society. But after that period, the interest only shall be expended, and the principal formed into a **permanent** fund, for the benevolent purposes before recited.

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The general meeting of the Society shall consist of all the members who may find it convenient to attend. But the Officers, that is to say, the President, Secretary and Treasurer of the state Societies shall consider themselves under indispensable obligations to **be present.**

attend

In the general meeting, the President General and the Secretary General shall be chosen to serve until the next triennial meeting.

[No break in Knox's MS.]

The circular letters which have been written annually by the respective state Societies to each other, and their particular laws shall be read, and confirmed, or otherwise as shall be judged proper — and all measures concerted which may conduce to the general intendment of the Society.

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All the Officers of the American Army — as well those who have resigned with honor, or who have been de-[1] [4] deranged by the resolutions of Congress upon the several reforms of the Army, as those who shall continue to the end of the war — are free to become parties to this institution, provided that they sign their names to the general rules in each state Society within two years after the Army shall be disbanded. The rank, time of service, resolutions of Congress by which any have been deranged, and place of residence must be added to each name.

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specifying opposite their names
their times | and the | may | the places | of each member

Each state Society shall obtain a list of its members, and at the first annual meeting the state Secretary shall have engrossed two copies of the institution of ~~of~~ the Society, upon parchment, which every member present shall sign, and the Secretary shall endeavor to procure the signature of every absent member, — one of those to be transmitted to the Secretary General, to be kept in the archives of the Society, and the other to remain in the hands of the state Secretary, and copies be given to the County Secretaries.

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From the state lists the Secretary General must make out, at the first general meeting, a complete list of the whole Society, with a copy of which he will furnish each state Secretary, who shall transmit them to the County Societies.

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of the state societies | will

[1] Catchword.

it The Society shall have an order by which **they** shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold or silver, of a proper size to receive the emblems — **viz.**

[No break in Knox's MS.] The principal figure, *Cincinnatus* — three senators presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns — on a field in the back ground, his wife standing at the door of their yoked cottage — near it a plough and instruments of husbandry — — round the whole,

Omnia reliquit servare Rempublicam.

reverse — On the **revese** —

Sun-rising — a city with open gates and vessels entering the port — Fame crowning *Cincinnatus* with a wreath, inscribed *Virtutis Præmium.*

beneath — **below,**

Hands joined supporting a heart, with the motto *Esto Perpetua.*

— round the whole, **in Latin,**

The Name of the Society and Year of its Institution.

therefrom The Foreign Officers who have served in the Army of the United states, and who have been honorably dismissed **the service,** shall be entitled to all the honors, rights[1]

The Articles of Association[2] as finally adopted on 13 May, 1783, were in the following form: —

INSTITUTION.

It having pleased the Supreme Governor of the Universe, in the disposition of human affairs, to cause the separation of the colonies of North America from the domination of Great Britain, and, after a bloody conflict of eight years, to establish them free, independent, and sovereign states, connected, by alliances

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[1] Catchword.

[2] A draught of these Articles, apparently a copy by Colonel Shaw, endorsed, in another hand, "Original Constitution of the Society of Cincinnati," is in the Library of Harvard College, received from the estate of our associate, the late Francis Parkman. On comparison it is found to agree substantially with the copy printed in the Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati (edition of 1890, pp. 7–13), from which the present impression was made.

founded on reciprocal advantage, with some of the greatest princes and powers of the earth;

To perpetuate, therefore, as well the remembrance of this vast event, as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and, in many instances, cemented by the blood of the parties, the officers of the American army do, hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute, and combine themselves into one society of friends, to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, and, in failure thereof, the collateral branches who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.

The officers of the American army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus; and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

The following principles shall be immutable and form the basis of the Society of the Cincinnati: —

An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

An unalterable determination to promote and cherish, between the respective states, that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American empire.

To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers: This spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the society, towards those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it.

The general society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into state societies, and these again into such districts as shall be directed by the state society.

The societies of the districts to meet as often as shall be agreed upon by the state society, those of the states on the fourth day of July, annually, or oftener, if they shall find it expedient, and the general society on the first Monday in May, annually, so long as they shall deem it necessary, and afterwards, at least once in every three years.

At each meeting the principles of the Institution will be fully considered, and the best measures to promote them adopted.

The state societies will consist of all the members resident in each state respectively; and any member removing from one state to another is to be considered in all respects as belonging to the society of the state in which he shall actually reside.

The state societies to have a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and assistant-treasurer, to be chosen annually, by a majority of votes, at the state meeting.

Each state meeting shall write annually, or oftener, if necessary, a circular letter to the other state societies, noting whatever they may think worthy of observation respecting the good of the society or the general union of the states and giving information of the officers chosen for the current year. Copies of these letters shall be regularly transmitted to the secretary-general of the society, who will record them in a book to be assigned for that purpose.

The state society will regulate everything respecting itself and the societies of the districts consistent with the general maxims of the Cincinnati, judge of the qualifications of the members who may be proposed, and expel any member who, by conduct inconsistent with a gentleman and a man of honor, or by an opposition to the interests of the community in general, or the society in particular, may render himself unworthy to continue a member.

In order to form funds which may be respectable, and assist the unfortunate, each officer shall deliver to the treasurer of the state society one month's pay, which shall remain forever to the use of the state society; the interest only of which, if necessary, to be appropriated to the relief of the unfortunate.

Donations may be made by persons not of the society, and by members of the society, for the express purpose of forming permanent funds for the use of the state society, and the interest of these donations appropriated in the same manner as that of the month's pay.

Moneys, at the pleasure of each member, may be subscribed in the societies of the districts, or the state societies, for the relief of the unfortunate members, or their widows and orphans, to be appropriated by the state society only.

The meeting of the general society shall consist of its officers and a representation from each state society, in number not exceeding five, whose expenses shall be borne by their respective state societies.

In the general meeting, the president, vice-president, secretary, assistant-secretary, treasurer, and assistant-treasurer general, shall be chosen, to serve until the next meeting.

The circular letters which have been written by the respective state societies to each other, and their particular laws, shall be read and considered, and all measures concerted which may conduce to the general intendment of the society.

It is probable that some persons may make donations to the general society, for the purpose of establishing funds for the further comfort of the unfortunate, in which case such donations must be placed in the hands of the treasurer-general, the interest only of which to be disposed of, if necessary, by the general meeting.

All the officers of the American army, as well those who have resigned with honor, after three years' service in the capacity of officers, or who have been deranged by the resolutions of Congress, upon the several reforms of the army, as those who shall have continued to the end of the war, have the right to become parties to this Institution: provided that they subscribe one month's pay and sign their names to the general rules, in their respective state societies, those who are present with the army immediately, and others within six months after the army shall be disbanded, extraordinary cases excepted; the rank, time of service, resolution of Congress by which any have been deranged, and place

of residence, must be added to each name; and as a testimony of affection to the memory and the offspring of such officers as have died in the service, their eldest male branches shall have the same right of becoming members as the children of the actual members of the society.

Those officers who are foreigners, not resident in any of the states, will have their names enrolled by the secretary-general, and are to be considered as members in the societies of any of the states in which they may happen to be.

And as there are, and will at all times be, men in the respective states eminent for their abilities and patriotism, whose views may be directed to the same laudable objects with those of the Cincinnati, it shall be a rule to admit such characters as honorary members of the society, for their own lives only; provided always that the number of honorary members in each state does not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers or their descendants.

Each state society shall obtain a list of its members; and at the first annual meeting the state secretary shall have engrossed on parchment two copies of the institution of the society, which every member present shall sign, and the secretary shall endeavor to procure the signature of every absent member; one of those lists to be transmitted to the secretary-general to be kept in the archives of the society, and the other to remain in the hands of the state secretary. From the state lists the secretary-general must make out, at the first general meeting, a complete list of the whole society, with a copy of which he will furnish each state secretary.

The society shall have an Order by which its members shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold, of a proper size to receive the emblems, and suspended by a deep blue ribbon two inches wide, edged with white, descriptive of the union of France and America, viz.: —

The principal figure

CINCINNATUS,

Three senators presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns; on a field in the background, his wife standing at the door of their cottage; near it a plough and instruments of husbandry.

Round the whole,

OMNIA RELIQUIT SERVARE REMPUBLICAM.

On the reverse,

Sun rising; a city with open gates, and vessels entering the port.

Fame crowning CINCINNATUS, with a wreath inscribed,

VIRTUTIS PRÆMIUM.

Below,

Hands joined, supporting a heart, with the motto,

ESTO PERPETUA.

Round the whole,

SOCIETAS CINCINNATORUM INSTITUTA A. D. 1783.

The society, deeply impressed with a sense of the generous assistance this country has received from France, and desirous of perpetuating the friendships which have been formed, and so happily subsisted, between the officers of the allied forces in the prosecution of the war, direct that the president-general transmit, as soon as may be, to each of the characters hereafter named, a medal containing the order of the society, viz.: —

His Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister Plenipotentiary,
His Excellency the Sieur Gerard, late Minister Plenipotentiary,
Their Excellencies —
The Count d'Estaing,
The Count de Grasse,
The Count de Barras,
The Chevalier de Touches,
Admirals and Commanders in the Navy,
His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, Commander-in-Chief,
And the generals and colonels of his army,

and acquaint them that the society does itself the honor to consider them members.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing Institution be given to the senior officer of each state line, and that the officers of the respective state lines sign their names to the same, in manner and form following, viz.: —

We, the subscribers, officers of the American army, do hereby voluntarily become parties to the foregoing Institution, and do bind ourselves to observe, and be governed by, the principles therein contained. For the performance whereof we do solemnly pledge to each other our sacred honor.

Done in the Cantonment, on Hudson River, in the year 1783.

That the members of the society, at the time of subscribing their names to the Institution, do also sign a draft on the paymaster-general in the following terms (the regiments to do it regimentally, and the generals and other officers not belonging to regiments, each for himself, individually), viz.: —

To John Pierce, Esquire, *Paymaster-General of the United States.*

Sir, — Please to pay to treasurer for the state asssociation of the Cincinnati, or his order, one month's pay of our several grades respectively, and deduct the same from the balance which shall be found due to us on the final liquidation of our accounts, for which this shall be your warrant.

That the members of the several state societies assemble as soon as may be, for the choice of their president and other officers; and that the presidents correspond together and appoint a meeting of the officers who may be chosen for each state, in order to pursue such further measures as may be judged necessary.

That the general officers, and the officers delegated to represent the several corps of the army, subscribe to the Institution of the general society, for themselves and their constituents, in the manner and form before prescribed.

That General Heath, General Baron de Steuben, and General Knox be a committee to wait on his excellency the commander-in-chief, with a copy of the Institution, and request him to honor the society by placing his name at the head of it.

That Major-General Heath, second in command in this army, be — and he hereby is — desired to transmit copies of the Institution, with the proceedings thereon, to the commanding officer of the Southern army, the senior officer in each state, from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, and to the commanding officer of the Rhode Island line, requesting them to communicate the same to the officers under their several commands, and to take such measures as may appear to them necessary for expediting the establishment of their state societies, and sending a delegation to represent them in the first general meeting, to be holden on the first Monday in May, 1784.

The meeting then adjourned without day.

Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., spoke as follows: —

The paper before us is one of several which Mr. Hilton selected from the collection of his uncle, the late Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, upon one of which I discoursed at considerable length at our December meeting. It is by far the most interesting of the lot, and, for historical purposes, the most valuable. It is an incomplete draught, in the handwriting of Washington, of the original plan for establishing the Society of the Cincinnati.

The presentation and consideration of this precious document, upon which Mr. Hilton has asked me to make some comments, have purposely been postponed to our February meeting, which, occurring on the eve of the anniversary of the birth of Washington, was thought the most opportune occasion for calling your attention to it as a rare memorial of the *Pater Patriæ*.

The importance of the paper, aside from the fact that it is, unquestionably, wholly autographic, consists in its being the only known document showing that the particular feature of the original Articles of Association of the Cincinnati which was made the subject of special animadversion in Ædanus Burke's "Considerations" (in which he also covertly attempted to connect the aims of the Association with the supposed unworthy purposes of the famous Newburgh Addresses) was inserted, if not at the suggestion, certainly with the distinct approval, of Washington. This feature — the clause relating to hereditary membership — was seized upon by the politicians of that day, and made a party shib-

boleth to foment the most extraordinary hostility, not only widely among the people and by the press, but in several of the State legislatures.

General Knox is now universally regarded as the founder of the Cincinnati. If he was not the first to conceive of such an organization, which may be doubted, his claim to the authorship of the first written scheme for the establishment and regulation of that body is put beyond dispute by the discovery, among his papers, of the earliest crude draught of the Articles of Association in his handwriting (and interlined and amended by him), under date of 15 April, 1783.

Now the draught before us is substantially a copy of Knox's original draught, revised and cleanly reproduced, with the addition only of a single full paragraph, besides such minor changes as seemed necessary to render it more perspicuous and to improve its style. The paper covers, as you see, four pages of cap size, and the catch-word at the end of the fourth page shows that it is only a part of the document written out by Washington. Unfortunately the remainder has not been found, which is to be regretted, chiefly, because it might afford a clew to, if it did not contain explicit evidence of, the precise date at which it was written, the person or persons through whom it came to its late custodian, and the circumstances which induced Washington to take a hand in its preparation. However, by carefully comparing it with Knox's draught of 15 April, 1783, and with the Articles of Association as finally approved and adopted on the thirteenth of May following, by the field and line officers of the American army, it appears unquestionably that the paper was written between those dates.

The Articles of Association adopted were reported by a committee of four officers appointed, on the tenth of May, at a meeting held at the headquarters of the Baron de Steuben, at a cantonment on the Hudson, — the Baron himself presiding. The new and final draught agreed upon by this committee was in the handwriting of Captain Shaw, the officer whose name appears last in order upon the list of the committee; which circumstance led, at one time, to the supposition that Shaw was the author or compiler.[1] The chairman of this committee, however, was Knox himself; and the committee's re-draught is evidently based upon his original composition;

[1] The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, etc., p. 111.

which gives plausibility to the surmise that Washington's revision was first submitted to the chairman, and was retained by him after the committee had reported, and that so it might have come directly from Knox to his friend, General Cobb, from whom it descended to Cobb's grandson.

Another surmise, however, equally plausible, is that, since General David Cobb was a member of Washington's military family, it may have passed to him directly from Washington, or, what is quite as probable, that it may have been received by him from the hands, or as part of the posthumous effects, of General Henry Jackson, who was the lifelong friend and correspondent of General Knox, and his business agent while the latter was Secretary of War. Jackson was also the first Treasurer of the Massachusetts Society. Generals Jackson and Cobb were not only intimate friends, — the latter naming one of his children for his brother officer, but it significantly appears that another paper in the Cobb collection refers to Jackson, and to his friendship for Madam Swan, in whose tomb his body was deposited after death. This last-named paper is of so personal a nature as hardly to have been treasured by any other than himself. These, however, as I have said, are surmises with more or less foundation in fact.[1]

I am glad to be assured by Mr. Hilton that he intends to make an exhaustive search for the missing portion of the paper, in the course of which I suggest to him that he carefully inspect other papers inherited by his uncle, in the hope of obtaining further light as to the history of this document, which so far as can be ascertained is absolutely unique, and certainly of interest not inferior to that of any paper which, for these many years past, has been brought as a novelty to the notice of any historical society.

[1] The above conjectures have been since rendered more certain by our associate, Mr. Henry H. Edes, who has found that in his last will, proved 23 January, 1809 (Suffolk Probate, No. 23,283), Jackson directed his executor to separate all moneys, notes, or certificates of any kind in his hands as Treasurer of the Cincinnati, and to pay over the same to his successor. General Cobb was one of the subscribing witnesses to this will, and in the performance of this particular duty very likely assisted the executors, neither of whom was a member of the Cincinnati. The draught of association, being not a document belonging to the Treasurer's custody, might have been retained by General Cobb, who became Vice-president of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati in 1810, before the final settlement of Jackson's estate.

I trust I may be pardoned for trespassing upon your patience by adding a few words concerning the political tempest which was raised over the institution of the Society of the Cincinnati. From the standpoint of to-day it would seem incredible that a man of Franklin's philosophic mental character could have been drawn into the vortex of apprehension and resentment which was produced in the current of public opinion by the act of this simple, voluntary association. But men must be judged by contemporary standards; and there was some reason for clear-headed patriots at that time to fear that in the establishment of a national government there would be influences exerted, especially by those who were not wholly emancipated from their old notions of loyalty, or who had imbibed Blackstone's plausible theories as to the perfection of the English political system, to set up an aristocracy, if not a nobility, in what had been so recently the British possessions in America. And, really, the absurdity of these groundless fears is not greater than the foolish antipathy exhibited in our day to capitalists, and the "protection" of so-called millionnaire manufacturers. We have not yet reached that stage of progress in which the generality of American citizens clearly discern the essential distinction between a hereditary aristocracy (or a segregate class or caste, created, subsidized, and maintained by the fundamental law, or exclusively established in a monopoly, by partial legislation) and wealth or influence attained by fair competition in a field open to all. The same encouragement which unreasonable prejudice received from leaders of the people, in Washington's day, is now vouchsafed to the visionary doctrinaires who, by encouraging the organizers of lawless assaults upon the fortunate and thrifty, are undermining the authority of government, and threatening the State with absolute anarchy.

This is not the place for an extended panegyric of the members of the Cincinnati, nor of the Institution itself; and if it were, there are others of our Society better entitled, from their intimate relations to the first members of that patriotic order, to pronounce the eulogy. But I feel that I ought not to allow this opportunity to pass unimproved to express my utter detestation of the spirit of hostility which inspired the mean attempts, that have become historical, to cast obloquy on those pure patriots who, having for eight weary years formed ties of warmest friendship in the camp

and on the field of battle, sought, through the medium of this combination for social and benevolent purposes, to strengthen those ties, and to perpetuate them in their posterity. Fealty to historic truth, and to every generous sentiment, constrains me on this memorial occasion to denounce in the bitterness of Pindar's simile that unscrupulous horde who assailed with every form of vituperation the ideal patriot, the majestic, the immortal Washington, — those

> "— rooks and chattering daws that, with loquacious cries,
> Pursue the bird of Jove that sails along the skies."

If no sense of shame restrained those who throughout the Revolutionary War were fêted and flattered by foreign courts, or those who at the bar preyed on clients at their mercy, or purveyed for the army at enormous profit, or in the security of their counting-rooms repleted their coffers by domestic speculations or foreign ventures, — if these, I repeat, were restrained by no sense of shame, or gratitude, from jealousy of their fellow-citizens, who, deprived of every home comfort through months of hunger, exposure, and disease, endured for their country the rigors of Canadian frosts, the miseries of Valley Forge, and the miasms of Southern swamps, in a triumphant contest with the best military forces of Europe, — we who at this distance survey the panorama of the past, and are able to discern the comparative merits of those who rose to distinction during the terrible throes which attended the birth of our Nation, ought not to be insensible of the grandeur of the character of Washington. His meek surrender to the silly clamor against an imaginary conspiracy for upbuilding an aristocracy, and his consenting, at the suggestion of Jefferson, to urge an amendment to the original Articles of Association of the Cincinnati, by which the clause providing for hereditary honors was stricken out, are illustrations of one side of his character which can never be too much admired. For the sake of conciliating those who had never been his friends, and to retain the good-will of sentimentalists, and the well-meaning among the dupes of ungrateful demagogues, that noblest of men consented to a retractation which was construed to imply that he had been willing to subvert the principle of equality which is the corner-stone of our political

fabric.[1] Yet the very name of the Association, derived from that of the patriot Roman Consul, suggested the resumption of the peaceful arts, and the renunciation of the pomp and circumstance of war, and all the distinctions of rank, as soon as the invading foe should have been vanquished, and, with his departure, the cause of strife and bitterness removed.

The Cincinnati, however, needed no such adventitious aid as the inheritance of the honors of heroism and patriotism would imply. In giving to the nation the great free Northwest as a garden for the cultivation and dissemination of all the best traditions of New England, this band of patriots at once provided for the conservation of republican ideas, and ennobled every true son of America. This crowning act of the Cincinnati is fittingly com memorated by the name which is still borne in their honor by the "Queen City" on the banks of the Ohio.

Let us to-day reverently turn our eyes westward, and repeat the legend inscribed, with Washington's approval, on the medal of the Association which he helped to found, — "Esto perpetua!"

The thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Hilton for his valuable present.

The following is the text of the Original Minutes of the Convention of Delegates of Bristol County held at Taunton 4 and 5 January, 1775,[2] presented by Mr. Hilton at the December Meeting, and upon which Mr. Goodell offered the remarks printed below: —

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[1] Concerning the unreasonable popular prejudice against the Cincinnati, and the attitude of Washington, Knox, Lafayette, John Adams, and others towards it, much can be learned from the correspondence of Washington and John Adams. Cf. letters of Knox, Lafayette, and Benjamin Hawkins to Washington, in Sparks's Correspondence of Washington, iv. 58–60, 71; Washington's letters to Knox, Jefferson, Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Madison, and William Barton, in Sparks's Writings of Washington, ix. 26, 29, 35, 216–218; xii. 298–299; also Appendix No. 1, in ix. 495 *et seq.*; Lafayette's letter to John Adams, and Adams's letter to Charles Spener, in Life and Works of John Adams, viii. 187; ix. 523–524. See also Austin's Life of Elbridge Gerry, i. 416 *et seq.*; Wells's Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, iii. 201 *et seq.*; and Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati (Boston, 1873), pp. 3–41, 534; (Boston, 1890) pp. 3–52, 531.

[2] See footnote on page 176, *ante*.

MINUTES OF THE BRISTOL CONVENTION OF 1775.

[7] At a ~~Meeting~~ Convention of Deligates from the several Towns in ye County of Bristol, held at Taunton on the 4th & 5th days Jany 1775 ye following Resolutions & Recommendations were unanimously Voted for the direction of the County.

[6] That ye Convention recommend to the several Towns in this County a determin'd & strick compliance with the association of ye Continental congress & that Committees of Inspection their recommend^d^ be immediately chosen by each Town, whose duty it shall be to cearfully & vigilantly inspect ye conduct & behaivour of every individual respecting ^ their compliance therewith & y^t^ it be recommended to every Town to purchase such a number of y^e^ ~~convention~~ Association of ye Continental Congress papers ^ as they shall think proper so y^t^ ~~each~~ the people in general may know their Duty.

Whereas Harryson Gray ^ Esqr, formerly the Treasurer of this Province, ~~being instigated by ye Malice of a wicked heart, ^ to~~ has by accepting ^ of a commission to subvert the happy constitution of this provence, by which he has not only forfeited ~~that~~ the confidence of the people of this ~~provence~~ County but has thereby render'd himself an unconstitusional Treasurer; ^ And as the people of ye Provence, in its present disturb'd ^ state, can never know in what manner their money [1] is expended, if it is pay'd to him as Treasurer, wch is ye essence of Government, therefore. Resolv'd that, y^e^ ^ Towns in this County, ~~if they mean to be actuated by ye Laws of God & ye Principles of a free Government,~~ do ^ immediately order their respecty constables not pay any Money into ye s^d^ Harryson Gray; but as ye necessities of Government has oblig'd the good people of ye provence in Congress assembled to make chose of Henry Gardner Esqr of Stow as a Treasurer ^ who has given sufficient security for ye faithfull performance of his office, by which our property may be secur'd & ye exigenses of the provence supplied; therefore we ernestly recommend to the Towns in this County ^ that they order their respective Constables ^ & indemnify them therefor immediately to collect & pay to Henry Gardner Esqr of Stow their arrerges of Provence Taxes & the Tax Voted last ~~years pay~~ May session of the General Court.

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[1] An erased word that is illegible in the manuscript follows the word "money."

[7] As ye Militia of this County in general have not complied with the desire of ye Provincial Congress, & as the safety of this Country must, under God, depend in a great measure, in its present alarming scituation, on a regular disaplin'd Militia, We therefore ye Deligates of ye County do in a most serious Manner recommend to ye several Companies of Militia in the County, that they immediately inlist a quarter part at least of their Companies & see that they are acquip'd with a Good Gun, wth an Iron Ram-Rod, Bayonet & a Cotouch Box & y^t^ they are properly Instruct'd by a person skill'd in ye Military Art as soon as possible each person having 30 rounds of Cartridges, & that each Town in the County use their utmost endeavours to be provided with a double stock, or more, of good powder lead & flints.

As a Congress of this Provence is soon to be conven'd at Cambridge, ~~to chose Members therefor &~~ we recommend to the several Towns in this County that they do not elect more Members than what is customary for a General Court, as we wou'd comply as far as possible with ~~an~~ that equal representation long since experienc'd to the benefit of this Provence.

That the Clerk of this Convention forward a Copy of these Resolutions to every Town in ye County as soon as possible.

Mr. Goodell said of the foregoing paper: —

I have been asked to make some remarks in explanation of one other paper presented by Mr. Hilton, which appears to be the first draught of certain Resolutions adopted at a convention of delegates from the several towns in Bristol County on 4 and 5 January, 1775. The objects of these Resolutions are, first, to recommend to the several towns in the county that the proposal by the Continental Congress of an association be complied with, and that the recommendation of the same Congress of the formation of Committees of Inspection be adopted and carried out; second, to approve of the orders of the Provincial Congress of the previous October, that money collected as public taxes be paid over to Henry Gardner, instead of to Harrison Gray, the Province Treasurer; and, third, to recommend to the several companies of militia in the county that the orders of the latter Congress in relation to filling up and drilling and equipping the militia, and forming from them the detachment known as minute-men, be observed.

Another Resolve recommended the several towns in the county not to send more delegates to the Provincial Congress, to be convened at Cambridge in February, 1775, than the number of deputies that had been customarily elected to the General Court.

The final Resolve required the clerk of the Convention to forward a copy of the Resolutions to every town in the county, as soon as possible.

This paper is worthy of preservation as establishing some facts in our Revolutionary history not to be got from the public archives, nor, so far as I have been able to learn, found in contemporaneous newspapers.

Mr. Francis C. Lowell communicated, in behalf of the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, who was unable to be present, a Memoir of Frederick Lothrop Ames.

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. FREDERICK LOTHROP AMES, A. B.

BY

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

Frederick Lothrop Ames, distinguished for his high character, was well known as one of the largest capitalists in the country. He was born in North Easton, Massachusetts, 8 June, 1835. He was the only son of Oliver and Sarah (Lothrop) Ames, great-grandson of Captain John Ames of Bridgewater, and grandson of the first Oliver, who founded the house of Oliver Ames and Sons, and, in 1803, built the works at North Easton for the manufacture of shovels, — an establishment which has long been famous, not only throughout the country, but all over the world, — Oliver, his father, and Oakes, his uncle, father of Ex-Governor Ames, being the other members of the firm. His mother was daughter of Hon. Howard Lothrop of Easton, and sister of Hon. George Van Ness Lothrop, United States Minister to Russia during the first administration of President Cleveland.

Mr. Ames, thus descended from good, sturdy, Old Colony families, marked for their many virtues and vigorous traits of character, throughout his active life, in every word and act, evinced his inheritance of these sterling qualities. No one ever met him without being impressed by his uprightness, intelligence, and good judgment. Prepared for college at Concord and Phillips (Exeter) Academy, he entered Harvard at fifteen years of age, and was one of the youngest in the class of 1854. Known to his classmates as a quiet, unassuming young man, who preferred the retirement of his own room to the social life of the college clubs, he held their entire respect, and after graduating became one of the most conspicuous members of the class.

Fred^k L Ames

He wished to study law; but in accordance with the custom of his family, and at the strong desire of his father, he became a clerk in the establishment of Oliver Ames and Sons at North Easton, and devoted his whole attention to acquiring an accurate knowledge of its affairs. So rapidly did he advance that he soon was placed in charge of the Accountants' Department. He was admitted a member of the firm in 1863, and in 1876, when the firm was incorporated as the Oliver Ames and Sons Corporation, he became its Treasurer, and held that office while he lived.

Mr. Ames did not, however, confine his attention to manufacturing, but early in his business career, impressed by the rapid development of the Western country, he became interested in the great railroads which span the continent, and have brought about such miraculous results in the enormous increase of the population and wealth of the country; so that at the death of his father, and before the inheritance of his vast estate, he had acquired through his own intelligence and industry an ample fortune, and filled many important offices of trust.

The Union Pacific Railway, at the time of its inception, was undoubtedly the greatest enterprise of its kind which had ever been attempted or even conceived. Most men were quite incredulous as to the possibility of building a railroad hundreds of miles, over desert plains and across vast mountain-ranges, through regions inhabited only by Indian tribes and wild beasts. It appeared to be an impracticable scheme; but Mr. Ames's father and uncle, seeing and fully appreciating the necessity of more rapid communication with the young giant State of the Pacific coast, and of binding it to the Union by links of steel, zealously threw themselves into the work, and, overcoming every obstacle, were chiefly instrumental in bringing to a triumphant conclusion that magnificent work, the pioneer of all the great trans-continental railroads of the country and of the world, — a work which should entitle them to enduring fame and gratitude.

Quite naturally, then, Mr. Ames at the death of his father assumed his place, not only as the head of the North Easton establishment, but as one of the principal owners and directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company, always continuing to devote a large part of his time to its interests. He was at the time of his death officially connected with some seventy-five railroads, and

was conceded to be one of the best informed men on all matters pertaining to this branch of enterprise in the country. In addition to the Union Pacific Railway Company, in which he was so largely interested, and which, perhaps, received the greatest share of his time and attention, and to the Oregon Short Line, now known as the Oregon Short Line and Utah Northern Railway, — probably the most important branch line which the Union Pacific ever carried through, — a few of the prominent companies with which he was officially connected may be enumerated. He had been Vice-President of the Old Colony Railroad and the Old Colony Steamship Company, and was active in the directory of the Western Union Telegraph Company. He was also a Director in the General Electric Company; the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company; the Atchison, Colorado, and Pacific Railroad Company; the Atchison, Jewell County, and Western Railroad Company; the Boulder Valley and Central City Wagon Road Company; the Bozeman Coal Company; the Carbon Cut-off Railway Company; the Central Branch Union Pacific Railway Company up Pike's Peak; the Colorado Western Railroad Company; the Denver, Leadville, and Gunnison Railway Company; the Denver Union Railway and Terminal Company; the Echo and Park City Railway Company; the Fort Worth and Denver City Railway Company; the Green River Water Works Company; the Fitchburg Railroad; the Fall River Line; the Morrison Stone, Lime, and Town Company; the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company; the Oregon Railway Extension Company; the Rattlesnake Creek Water Company; the South Park Coal Company; the Union Coal Company; the Union Elevator Company of Omaha; and the Union Land Company; and of the American Loan and Trust Company, the New-England Trust Company, the Bay State Trust Company, the Old Colony Trust Company, and the Security Safe Deposit and Trust Company, all of Boston; as well as of the Mercantile Trust Company of New York. He was President of the First National Bank of Easton, of the North Easton Savings Bank, and of the Hoosac Tunnel Dock and Elevator Company.

He was never satisfied to hold office in any of these and other corporations without acquainting himself with the details of their transactions, and in most cases being able to answer all questions relating to them. Such was the strength of his remarkable memory.

Mr. Ames, amid his vast business cares, was a most kind and generous man. After his father's death he assumed and continued his pensions and charities, besides incurring new obligations of the same kind. He never turned a deaf ear to one whom he believed to be a sufferer, or to a charity which he considered meritorious. A keen judge of men, he readily drew the line between impostors and deserving applicants, and was as quick to dismiss the one as he was ready to give his ear and open his hand to the other. He was President of the Home for Incurables, Trustee of the Children's Hospital, of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and of the McLean Asylum. He took a strong interest also in the Kindergarten for the Blind, and gave it both time and money. He was one of the Fellows of Harvard College, and was a liberal benefactor of the Botanical Garden and of the Arnold Arboretum. Mr. Ames was well known as one of the most accomplished and enthusiastic lovers of Horticulture, and was for many years a director and one of the most influential members of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. His beautiful grounds at North Easton evinced his fine taste and great knowledge of this pursuit. Here it was indeed a great pleasure to see him, after he had laid aside the cares of the day, to accompany him through his shrubberies, gardens, and greenhouses, and to hear him, in his gentle, modest way, discourse on their various treasures. His collection of orchids was the most complete in the country, and probably was unsurpassed in the world. Gathered from every source, there were eight thousand plants and seventeen hundred varieties of these rare exotics, some of which were propagated by himself. As he walked through the houses containing them with the Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, who were his guests only five days before his death, his gentle and affectionate manner to them was only equalled by his loving, tender expression, as he touched and described the many varieties of these exquisite flowers, with their difficult names, by which, without a moment's hesitation, he designated any one of them. Had he on that day been asked with which of his many pursuits he would wish his memory to be identified, he would, I think, have answered, "As a devoted lover of Horticulture."

One seldom sees a man carrying such a vast burden of cares, and remembering to a nicety at all times the particular points

which mark each and every one of them, so that when questioned he would, in concise terms and fewest possible words, give a clear account of any, while at the same time his gentle, unruffled manner impressed you as that of one having not a care in the world.

A zealous Unitarian, he interested himself greatly in the attractive church of that denomination in North Easton, which was erected by his father, and in which he and his mother had placed an exquisite window to the memory of his beloved sister. The First Church in Boston also will sadly feel the loss of its devoted parishioner, who was the head of its executive committee, and was always ready with his time and money to advance its interests. He carried into his daily life his composed manner, amid all his varied trials, never using harsh language, whatever the provocation.

Mr. Ames was a true lover and an excellent judge of the fine arts, and displayed admirable judgment in the selection of his great collection of paintings, tapestries, jades, and crystals, — among the latter owning the largest in the world. His beautiful houses contained fine paintings by Troyon, Millais, Rousseau, Corot, Diaz, Daubigny, and others, with two admirable portraits by Rembrandt, bearing the date of 1632, which Mrs. Ames has recently presented to the Museum of Fine Arts. All these valuable works of art he liberally exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts, to the great enjoyment and instruction of the people. He selected these paintings himself, and in his selection showed the good judgment which characterized him in everything he undertook. He embellished his two homes with them, not because fashion rendered it imperative to adorn his walls, but because he was a true lover of art. They gave him many an hour of rest and happiness. He was, fortunately, able to gratify this refined taste, and he did so without stint.

Early in the career of Richardson, the architect, Mr. Ames became one of his most generous patrons. The Public Library at North Easton, designed by Richardson, built and endowed according to the bequest of Mr. Ames's father, was an object of pride to the son, who took the strongest interest in it, and with his mother and sister largely increased its means of usefulness.

The rustic Gate-Lodge, built of massive boulders, which excites the admiration of all who see it, was also an original and charac-

teristic work of Richardson. The noble store at the corner of Bedford and Kingston Streets, almost too beautiful for a commercial building, which was recently destroyed by fire, showed the cultivated taste of this admirable architect. The railroad station at North Easton was erected by Mr. Ames at his own expense, after the design of Richardson. Mr. Ames, of late years, rapidly increased his holdings of real estate in Boston, and after the death of Richardson employed his pupils and successors in erecting the stately building at the corner of Washington and Court Streets, known as the Ames Building, which is so perfect in all its details that it is an ornament to the city and an object lesson in architecture.

Mr. Ames was thus in the prime of his usefulness at the time of his death, with his clear head and sound judgment directing affairs of infinite variety and vast importance, and with his abundant means generously aiding them in their necessities. In the still nobler work of educating the people, he cultivated their taste for architecture by setting before them the purest and best examples; for art, by procuring and exhibiting the works of the masters; and for the refining love of flowers, by his wonderful collections which he freely opened to them. As an agriculturist, too, he was one of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, and carried on a large farm at North Easton according to the most scientific methods, — not for his own selfish amusement, however, but largely with the view of benefiting the inhabitants of North Easton by supplying them with pure milk.

It is well known that Mr. Ames was giving his attention to a noble work which he contemplated for Harvard College. Being one of the Fellows of the Corporation, and knowing well the pressing need of a new building for its rapidly growing library, he determined to erect one at his own expense. So far as is known, it would have been an edifice worthy the object and the benefactor, — as conspicuous for its usefulness as for its beauty, and an enduring monument to his memory. It would have shown to future generations the great scheme of liberality on which the last thoughts of his life were concentrated. Alas! he did not live to carry out his generous design; but his recognition of the obligations imposed upon him by his great success is the most impressive

act of his life, and the failure of its completion in no way impairs the esteem to which he is entitled for its conception.

Truly was he a most exceptional man, respected by all who knew him, and beloved by his friends. Few men ever devoted themselves to so many and varied interests, attaining distinction in all with such apparent ease. A friend might enter his office at any time, and always meet with a cordial reception, as though he had not a care to occupy him. In his daily walks, apparently calm and undisturbed, he was keenly observant of what he saw, and of those whom he met. There was a dignity, a gentleness, and urbanity in his nature which were most attractive.

In politics Mr. Ames was a stanch Republican; but, though very earnest in his convictions, he had no ambition to enter the political arena. In 1872 he was elected, against his strong remonstrance, to the State Senate, where he served on the Committees on Manufactures and Agriculture.

On 7 June, 1860, Mr. Ames was married to Rebecca Caroline, the only child of James Blair, of St. Louis, Missouri. Five of their six children are now living, — Helen Angier, wife of Robert C. Hooper of Boston; Oliver, who married Elise A. West of Boston; Mary Shreve; Lothrop; and John Stanley. His death occurred suddenly, and while he was apparently in full health, 13 September, 1893. Thus, in the height of his activity, was taken from us this rare man, this courteous, dignified, Christian gentleman. His loss will long be lamented by his many friends, as well as by the financial circles of Boston and New England.

Mr. Ames was elected a member of this Society, 15 March, 1893.

MARCH MEETING, 1894.

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on Wednesday, 21 March, 1894, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Dr. GOULD in the chair.

After the record of the last meeting had been read, the Corresponding Secretary read the following letter from the President of the United States: —

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
February 22, 1894.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary.*

MY DEAR SIR, — I have long delayed my response to your communication informing me of my election to Honorary Membership in The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

I desire on this day, so suggestive of the patriotic sentiments which it is the purpose of your organization to foster, to express my thanks for the honor conferred upon me by The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, with my sincere wishes for its prosperity and usefulness.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

The following-named gentlemen were elected Resident Members: —

ERNEST LEE CONANT. JOHN HOMANS, 2D.
JOHN ELIOT SANFORD.

Mr. HENRY E. WOODS called attention to the recent organization of an historical society in Groton in this Commonwealth, as follows: —

THE GROTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Groton Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in Groton, 23 January, 1894.

Mr. WOODS also stated that the Daughters of the Revolution had organized a Massachusetts society, and on 25 January, 1894, had adopted a Constitution, from which it appears that the purposes of the organization are in substance those of a topical Historical Society.[1] Its objects are: to keep alive the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to collect and secure for preservation the manuscript rolls, records, and other documents relating to the war of the American Revolution; to encourage historical research; to promote and assist in the proper celebration of prominent events relating to or connected with the war of the Revolution; to promote social intercourse among its members, and to provide a home for and furnish assistance to such as may be impoverished, when it is in its power to do so.

Mr. WOODS further remarked that the Roxbury Military Historical Society has taken active steps towards the better care and preservation of the ancient burial-ground at the junction of Eustis and Washington streets.

Mr. ARCHIBALD M. HOWE presented the following list of inaccuracies and omissions in the enumeration of Societies in Massachusetts in the list of Historical Societies published by the American Historical Association in 1894: —

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[1] The title adopted by the Society is the "Daughters of the Revolution, Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

INACCURACIES.

[Under this heading the correct title is given first.]

Archæological Institute of America, Massachusetts branch, Boston, instead of
Archæological Institute of America, Boston.
Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society, Pittsfield, instead of
Berkshire Historical Scientific Society, Pittsfield.
Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, Boston, instead of
Military Historical Society, Boston.
Westborough Historical Society, instead of
Westboro Historical Society.
Old Residents Historical Association of Lowell, instead of
Old Residents Historical Society, Lowell.
Rehoboth Antiquarian Society, Rehoboth, instead of
Antiquarian Society, Rehoboth.
Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, Dorchester, instead of
Dorchester Historical and Antiquarian Society, Dorchester.
Worcester Society of Antiquity, Worcester, instead of
Society of Antiquity (T. Dickinson, Librarian), Worcester.
Winchester Historical and Genealogical Society, Winchester, instead of
Historical Society, Winchester.
Bedford Historical Society, Bedford, instead of
Bedford Historical Society, Boston.
Lexington Historical Society, Lexington, instead of
Historical Society, Lexington.[1]

OMITTED.

American Statistical Association, Boston.
Fitchburg Historical Society, Fitchburg.
Historical, Natural History, and Library Society of South Natick.
Malden Historical Society, Malden.
Medfield Historical Society, Medfield.
Roxbury Military Historical Society, Boston.
Wakefield Historical Society, Wakefield.[2]

[1] The Quincy Historical Society, Quincy (*ante*, pp. 182, 183), and the Groton Historical Society, Groton (*ante*, p. 266), have been organized since the list of the American Historical Association was published.

[2] If Church Historical Societies are properly to be included, there should be added to this list of omissions: Shepard Historical Society, Cambridge.

PLACE NOT GIVEN.

Canton Historical Society, Canton.
Cape Cod Historical Society, Yarmouth.
Concord Antiquarian Society, Concord.

PLACE INACCURATELY GIVEN.

Universalist Historical Society, should be Tufts College, instead of College Hill.

IMPROPERLY INCLUDED.

Boston Memorial Association.

QUESTIONABLE.

American Congregational Association, Boston.
Ipswich Historical Society, Ipswich.

Mr. HOWE observed that the indexes and acknowledgments of gifts in the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the American Antiquarian Society might be regarded as authorities for the titles of the Historical Societies in Massachusetts. The following errors are therefore worth noting: —

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1876-1877.

Worcester Society of Antiquaries, probably meant for Worcester Society of Antiquity.

Ibid. 1884-1885.

Historical Society of South Natick, probably meant for The Historical, Natural History, and Library Society of South Natick.

Ibid. 1887-1889.

Berkshire County Historical Society, probably meant for Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, OCTOBER, 1890.

Pocumtuck Valley Association, probably meant for Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

Dr. Daniel Denison Slade then stated that he was much interested in the history of the gilt cross which is mounted above the entrance to the delivery room of the Library of Harvard University, on the south side of the extension of the east transept of Gore Hall. This cross, he said, was supposed to have been brought back from Louisburg by some member of the Pepperell Expedition, in 1745, and his attention had been attracted to it, not only by the exciting events of this extraordinary expedition, but by the hints which have been handed down to us that there were among the troops some, who, in a spirit of iconoclasm, are said to have equipped themselves with weapons for the destruction of the images in the little church from which the cross was probably taken.[1] Dr. Slade then read extracts from Parkman, and from Bourinot,[2] and from the Journal of James Gibson,[3] illustrative of these points, and added that his interest in the history of this relic had led him to make inquiry among those who might be supposed to be informed concerning it, to ascertain if more facts could be obtained than had already been published in the Memorial History of Boston.[4] He had not been able to find the record of the receipt of the relic by the College, but the following note, published in the Library Bulletin in June, 1878,[5] contributed some additional information to that given in the sources of authority already mentioned.

"The gilt cross above the entrance of the Library is said to have been brought from Louisburg at the time of its surrender to Sir William Pepperell and the Massachusetts troops in 1745. This date is said to

[1] See what Parkman says about Rev. Samuel Moody, Minister of York, in the Atlantic Monthly for March, 1891, lxvii. 321. There is a cut of this Cross in the frontispiece of Vol. ii. of the Memorial History of Boston.

[2] Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island of Cape Breton, etc. Montreal, 1892.

[3] A Journal of the late Siege by the troops of North America against the French at Cape Breton, etc., by James Gibson, Gentleman Volunteer, at the above Siege. London, 1745. This edition is prefaced with a large folded sketch of Louisburg.

In 1847, this Journal was re-published, under the editorship of Lorenzo D. Johnson, with some additional matter, but without the sketch of Louisburg, under the title, "A Boston Merchant of 1745, or incidents of the life of James Gibson," etc. Boston, 1847.

[4] Memorial History of Boston. Vol. ii.

[5] Harvard University, Library Bulletin, No. 8, 1 June, 1878: Notes.

have been painted on it with a further inscription when it was preserved, formerly, among other relics in Harvard Hall; but after the removal of the Library from that building in 1841, these relics were transferred to a building in which the Panorama of Athens was exhibited, and in the fire in which that building was consumed the inscription on the cross was obliterated. It was subsequently placed on the wall in the eastern transept of Gore Hall, and was removed from that position at the time of the recent extension of the transept; and in December last, having been gilded, was placed as now seen."

Dr. Slade passed round among the members present Volume V. of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," which contains (on page 436) a reduced fac-simile of a sketch of Louisburg, taken from the original edition of the Journal of James Gibson. He also alluded to a large engraving of Louisburg, a copy of a drawing in the French archives, recently received by the College, in which the church from which the cross is supposed to have been taken, is prominently shown, and closed with a renewed expression of his deep interest in the subject, and an inquiry if any of the members could contribute any information bearing upon it.

Dr. GOULD stated that the building which contained the Panorama, and which was burnt in 1845, stood in the rear of Harvard Square, near the church of the First Parish.[1] From his father's house in Roxbury, he saw the fire to which Dr. Slade had referred.

Further discussion was participated in by Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS, and Mr. HENRY WILLIAMS.

Mr. EDMUND M. WHEELWRIGHT read the following paper:

[1] This structure was of wood, and in the rear of where the Charles River National Bank now is, having been approached through the alley-way by the side of the old Court House.

The beautiful and truthful panorama was purchased at London, in 1819, by the late Theodore Lyman, jr., and presented by him to Harvard College. Efforts to obtain the means for constructing a suitable building for its exhibition having proved unsuccessful, the plan was deferred until the accumulated interest upon the amount already secured for the purpose should suffice. (See Quincy's History of Harvard University, ii. 401, 592.)

The building, which was nearly or quite circular, was erected in 1842, and free access to it given students of the College. But it only endured for about three years; for the building, with the panorama, was consumed on the night of the sixth of June, 1845, the flames having reached it from a carpenter's shop, set on fire by an incendiary.— G.

A FRONTIER FAMILY.[1]

THE Rev. John Wheelwright, the son of a well-to-do Lincolnshire yeoman, was graduated in 1614 at Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge. Some memory of his prowess in college athletics held to a later time, for Cotton Mather writes that "when Wheelwright was a young spark at the University, he was noted for a more than ordinary stroke at wrestling; and afterwards waiting on Cromwell, with whom he had been contemporary at the University, Cromwell declared to the gentlemen then about him, that 'he could remember the time when he had been more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at football, than of meeting any army since in the field.'"[2]

On the second of April, 1623, shortly after the death of the Rev. Thomas Storre, the father of his first wife, and the last incumbent of the living, Wheelwright was presented to the vicarage of Bilsby[3] by Robert Welby, the patron. On the eleventh of January, 1632, as the Bishops' Certificates, and Episcopal Registry of Lincoln, at the Public Records Office, London, show, he was succeeded in the living by Philip De la Mott, upon presentation by the Crown, as the presentation had there escheated "per pravitatem simoniæ."[4] It would appear that Wheelwright had arranged with the patron to resign his living for a sum of money, and that the transaction came to the knowledge of his bishop, who thereupon declared the living forfeited.

[1] The writer especially acknowledges his obligations for material used in this paper to Bell's "John Wheelwright" (Prince Society Publications), Bell's History of Exeter, N. H., Bourne's History of Wells and Kennebunk, and Folsom's "Saco and Biddeford."

[2] Letter to George Vaughan, in Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Appendix.

[3] Bilsby is a hamlet adjoining the market town of Alford. The shire town of York County, Maine, takes its corrupted name, Alfred, from that of Alford, England.

[4] The use of this material previous to its publication by the Massachusetts Historical Society has been allowed through the courtesy of Charles F. Adams, Esq., the owner of the copies of these records, and of Dr. Samuel A. Green, Librarian of the Society.

The antiquary who found these records holds that in this transaction Wheelwright was guilty of a grave offence, but the gravity of the offence cannot be fairly judged by the standards of to-day. In the early seventeenth century, and at a much later period, a church living was probably regarded as a merchantable freehold, as were commissions in the English army and navy even in our own time. A patron's right of property in a church benefice seems to have been recognized. At all events, a high authority in ecclesiastical law[1] is "not sure that a simoniacal contract to present as patron would vacate the benefice." If patrons of livings could sell them without punishment, the clergymen who bought or who sold what they bought would not be held by public opinion guilty of "grave offence" in violating the law against simony. A law which only carried a penalty to one party to such a transaction, where the moral obligation equally applied to both parties, was so unfair that it would naturally become a dead letter. By such a law, however, a bishop could easily rid his diocese of a clergyman not to his liking, — a troublesome nonconformist, for instance.

Apparently, Wheelwright's simoniacal act did not injure his personal reputation. Brook in his Lives of the Puritans says "he was much esteemed among serious Christians." Hanserd Knollys[2] sought Wheelwright out, after 1632, for religious conference and instruction. Later, when Wheelwright's New England enemies tried in every way to break his influence and to justify their treatment of him, there was no intimation of any cloud on his past career. Indeed, Cotton Mather in this connection says that "his

[1] Permission is not given to cite the legal authority referred to. The opinion is as follows: "I should say that the probability is that the incumbent simoniacally agreed to resign, probably with the patron, and so the turn went to the King. I am not sure that a simoniacal contract to present as patron would vacate the benefice, but the other piece of misbehaviour seems to me natural enough and to fit the facts."

[2] Rev. Hanserd Knollys, born about 1598, at Cawkerell, Lincolnshire; graduated at Cambridge; inducted to the living of Humberston, Lincolnshire, 23 August, 1631, which he held until 8 January, 1633; came to Massachusetts 1638, where, being suspected of "Antinomianism," he was refused residence. He was pastor at Dover, N. H., for nearly four years, when he returned to England. There he taught school, and was chaplain in the Parliamentary army. He was the author of several religious works, and an incomplete autobiography. A Baptist publication society in London is called the Hanserd Knollys Society. See Congregational Quarterly, vol. xiii.; Second Series, vol. iii.

worst enemies never looked on him as chargeable with the least ill practices; he was a gentleman of the most unspotted morals imaginable; a man of most unblemished reputation."[1]

Shortly after losing his benefice, Wheelwright is supposed to have lived at Anderby, Lincolnshire, where he had relatives, and also at Laceby, in the same county, where one of his children was born.

His first wife having died in 1630, he married Mary Hutchinson. In 1636, Wheelwright, with his family and Mrs. Hutchinson, his mother-in-law, emigrated to Boston. With him came his brother-in-law Augustine Storre and his family. Wheelwright was well received in the Colony. An unsuccessful attempt was made by his friends to associate him with Cotton in the Boston Church; later, he was made pastor at Mt. Wollaston of "a new church to be gathered there." All things looked promising for a useful and happy life in his new home.

However, being a man of a contentious disposition, Wheelwright, with his sister-in-law Anne Hutchinson and Henry Vane, then Governor of the Colony, was soon in hot controversy[2] with the conservative party, the question at issue being that of the "Covenant of Grace" *vs.* the "Covenant of Works." The strange verbiage used in this dispute carries little meaning to us to-day, yet, in spite of all the theological hair-splitting, we can understand that the party Wheelwright so stoutly defended stood for freedom of speech and opinion, and for a more liberal theology than that held by the majority of the Puritans. "I will petition to be chosen the universal idiot of the world," said the Rev. Mr. Ward of Ipswich, "if all the wits under the heavens can lay their heads together and find an assertion worse than this, — that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it."

The priestly antagonism to free discussion is shown by the Rev. Mr. Welde's lament: "But the last and worst of all, which most suddenly diffused the venom of these opinions into the very veins and vitals of the people, was Mistress Hutchinson's double weekly lecture."

There was not a little political partisanship mixed with these

[1] Cotton Mather's letter to George Vaughan.

[2] See the Remarks of Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., on the Antinomian Controversy at the April, 1893, Meeting, *ante*, p. 132 *et seq.*

theological disputes. The controversy between Wheelwright and the conservative clergymen was the principal issue in the canvass of Winthrop as the candidate for Governor of the conservative party against Vane, who was a candidate for a second term. Winthrop was elected.

At the expiration of his term of office, Vane left the Colony in disgust. Evil days then fell on Vane's friends; his enemies lost no time in crushing out the liberal ideas he had encouraged. Previous to Winthrop's election, Wheelwright had been found guilty by the General Court of "sedition and contempt of the Civil Authorities," a charge based on his metaphorical use of the word "swords" in his Fast Day sermon. This sentence was passed after a two days' contest, when, writes William Coddington, "the priests got two of the magistrates on their side and so got the major part of them."

After Winthrop's election, sentence was passed on Wheelwright as follows: —

> "Mr. John Wheelwright being formerly convicted of contempt and sedition and now justifying himself and his former practice, being to the disturbance of the civil peace he is by the court disfranchised and banished our jurisdiction and to be put in safe custody except he should give sufficient security to depart before the end of March."

Wheelwright appealed "to the King's majesty." The Court replied that "they had full jurisdiction as expressed in their Charter." Wheelwright, having refused to give security "for his quiet departure," was placed in the marshal's custody. The next day he was released "upon his promise that if he were not departed within fourteen days he would render himself at the house of Mr. Stoughton . . . there to abide as a prisoner."

Although during the controversy there had been at no time fear of an armed revolt in opposition to the tyranny of the conservatives, all those who had signed a remonstrance against the treatment of Wheelwright were deprived of "guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot, & match," and some of the leaders of the liberal party were banished. Many of the Colony's best citizens were cut off from all active service in its public affairs. Some cause for rigorous action was not lacking. The Boston followers of Wheelwright had refused to serve in the Pequot War because their minister,

who was to be their chaplain, was "under a Covenant of Works," — an act of distinct insubordination.

In the short notice given him, Wheelwright disposed of his Mt. Wollaston lands at a loss. He left Massachusetts in November, 1637, tarried awhile just beyond the "bound-house" near Hampton; then pushed his way, through the heavy snows of that bitter winter, to the falls of the Squamscot on the Piscataqua. In the early spring he was joined by his wife and family, and by Augustine Storre, John Compton, and Nicholas Needham. These pioneers purchased from the local Sagamores a large tract of land and founded Exeter.

A little later William Wentworth, Edward Rishworth, Samuel Hutchinson, Edmund Littlefield, Philemon Pormortt, and twenty other heads of families joined the colony. All were either Lincolnshire friends [1] of Wheelwright or residents of Boston and its neighborhood, who had supported him in his controversy with the colonial hierarchy.

In July, 1637, when the Antinomian controversy was at its height, several Lincolnshire families arrived in Boston. They were attracted to Massachusetts, where Anne Hutchinson, Vane, Wheelwright, Coddington, and Cotton, all Lincolnshire people, were prominent. The government gave these men permission to tarry within its borders but four months. Prompt arrangements had to be made by them for an abiding place. As they were forced to leave the Colony at about the time of Wheelwright's banishment, it is probable that those who did not go to Rhode Island had found winter quarters along the Piscataqua.

[1] The Lincolnshire men in the Exeter Colony were Wentworth, Storre, Helme, Lawson, Leavitt, Rishworth, Hutchinson, Pormortt, Fish, the Wardwells, and the Littlefields. There was a family connection between several of these colonists, of which Anne Hutchinson was the central figure; her father, Rev. Francis Marbury, was the uncle of Wentworth and the great-uncle of Helme and Lawson; Augustine Storre married her husband's sister Susanna, another sister married a Leavitt, another a Rishworth; Samuel Hutchinson was her husband's brother. John Wheelwright married first, Augustine Storre's sister, and as his second wife, Mary Hutchinson, Anne's sister-in-law. Anne Hutchinson's mother was a cousin of John Dryden, the poet. The Marburys, Drydens, and Wentworths were arms-bearing families; the Hutchinsons laid claim to like distinction, but their pedigree, filed during the last century in the Heralds' College, was endorsed "respited for proof." See New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xx. 355; Heraldic Journal, ii. 83, 171, 183.

The first year at Exeter was a busy one. The colony was harmonious without any formal government. The next year the population was doubled. Settlers of different antecedents and purposes joined the colony. As it was found necessary to have some form of government, the "Exeter Combination,"[1] a document evidently drawn up by Wheelwright, was subscribed to by the colonists. One Gabriel Fish was arrested for "speaking against his Majesty." Finally, the terms of the constitution not justifying the punishment of this contemner of royalty, he was released from custody; but the Combination was so amended that its protestations of loyalty to the Crown satisfied the most ardent royalist;[2] shortly afterwards a special law was passed that made "reviling his Majesty, the Lord's anointed," a capital offence.

Traffic was allowed with the Indians in all things save "powder, shot, or any warlike weapons, sack or other Strong Watters." A church was established, of which Wheelwright was the pastor.

This little Republic prospered; its independent government, however, had a short life. Against the protest of the people of Exeter, the Bay Colony planted a settlement at Hampton, territory included in the Indian purchase of Wheelwright and his associates. Exeter's protest was met by the Baymen with the counter-claim that Exeter was within the patent of their Colony. After all the other New Hampshire plantations had acknowledged the sway of Massachusetts, in May, 1643, twenty-two Exeter settlers, but one of whom, Anthony Stanyan, was an immediate follower of Wheelwright, petitioned the General Court for annexation. The petition was granted, and Exeter came under the rule of the Bay Colony. Wheelwright and his proscribed friends were not unprepared for this turn in affairs. Two years previously, Hutchinson and Needham had arranged terms with Thomas Gorges, allowing them to take up land and build at Wells, Maine. Availing themselves of this right, these two, with Wheelwright, Storre, Wentworth, Littlefield, Rishworth, Pormortt, and six other Exeter associates, moved to the coast of Maine. By a later agreement with Gorges, Wheelwright, Rishworth, and Henry Boade, who had settled earlier at Saco, but moved at this time to Wells, were appointed a commission authorized to allot lands and to make grants to fit persons,

[1] Bell's History of Exeter, appendix.

[2] Tuttle's Historical Papers, appendix.

under certain conditions, subject to Gorges's veto. Wheelwright bought four hundred acres of land on the easterly side of Ogunquit River.[1] He built a small one story house and a saw-mill at the "Town's End." He was, of course, the pastor of the church gathered at Wells by the Exeter Associates.

In 1607, the Plymouth Company sent out two colonies, one to Jamestown and one to the coast of Maine under Popham, with Raleigh Gilbert, the son of Sir Humphrey, as lieutenant. The Maine colony was short-lived. Later, under direct grants from the Plymouth Company, and under grants from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, settlers spread along the shore from the Piscataqua to Sagadahoc. This colony, known at first as "New Somersetshire," was peopled as was the colony of Virginia. Many "gentlemen adventurers," among them several younger sons of good family, sought the Maine coast as planters, traders, and for the fisheries.[2] Robert Gorges,[3] the son of Sir Ferdinando, came over as Governor of his father's Province, but remained only for a short time. His cousins, Thomas and William Gorges, were longer in the Province as the patentee's agents. At Kittery, was Francis Champernowne,[4] of the best Devonshire stock, kin of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and a connection of the Gorgeses and the Pophams; at Blackpoint, Henry Jocelyn,[5] of an old Hertfordshire family, and with him his friend Capt. Thomas Camock,[6] a

[1] "When a boy on the Wheelwright farm I ate fruit from trees planted by Samuel and his sons Joseph and John. We have held the homestead two hundred and fifty years, but last year (1893) it was sold, as no one wished to live on it, no member of the family I mean." — Letter of Rev. John Bourne Wheelwright, of Minneapolis, Minn.

[2] "The people in the province of Maine may be divided into Magistrates, Husbandmen, or Planters and Fishmen; of the Magistrates some be Royalists, the rest Perverse Spirits; the like are planters and fishers both, others mere fishers. Handicraftsmen there are but few; shopkeepers there are none, being supplied by the Massachusetts Merchants with all things they stand in need of." John Josselyn's Two Voyages to New England.

[3] Gorges pedigree, Harleian Society's "Visitations of Somersetshire."

[4] Champernowne pedigree, Harleian Society's "Visitations of Devonshire." See Berry's "Hampshire Genealogies" for marriage of a Richard Champernowne and Elizabeth, daughter of Chief Justice Popham.

[5] Josselyn pedigree, Harleian Society's "Visitations of Essex," pp. 65, 230.

[6] See "George Cleaves of Casco Bay" (Gorges Society Publications), p. 37, footnote.

nephew of Thomas Rich, the first Earl of Warwick of that name; at Saco, Henry Boade,[1] of the Hampshire gentry; at Winter Harbor, Joseph Bolles,[2] an "armiger" of Nottinghamshire; at Agamenticus, Edward Godfrey,[3] upon whose father's monument in the Church of Wilmington, Kent, were carved the arms of Godfrey de Bouillon.

The bulk of the population was made up of colonists sent over by the Gorgeses, possibly not of such wretched material as Popham's colony, but certainly not of the self-reliant and earnest character of the bulk of the Plymouth and Bay colonists. Here too were waifs, strays, and adventurers, rude in manners and loose in morals, who had drifted thither from the westward colonies and from across the ocean. The government of New Somersetshire was lax, and there is not a little evidence of a demoralized society. The colonists of this province, with many of the first settlers of New Hampshire, were for the most part from the south and west of England, not from the counties whence came the Puritan emigration, — they were not Puritans. To say the least, they had little community of feeling or interest with their neighbors of the Bay and Plymouth colonies.

Until, and even after the Revolution,[4] among the people dwelling immediately about the mouth of the Piscataqua and in the Province of Maine, society had an aristocratic basis. The manner of life and the large proprietorship of Sir William Pepperell is an example of this tendency. Two forces, the climate, and the proximity of the Bay Puritans, worked against the development of an aristocratic society. The severity of the climate prevented the advantageous employment of many slaves; aided by the condi-

[1] Henry Boade in his will makes his "loving cousins, Mr. John Winthrop, Esq. and Rev. Timothy Dalton," his executors. The pedigree of Bode in Berry's "Kent Genealogies," gives a Henry Bode, and the marriage with John Winthrop of a distantly removed step-cousin of this Henry Bode, Mariam Ford, daughter and heir of John Ford of Buckley Abbey, Suffolk.

[2] Bolles pedigree, Harleian Society's "Visitations of Nottinghamshire." For will of John Bolles, Esq., in which he mentioned his "brother Joseph in New England," see Waters's "Gleanings in England." New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvi. 34.

[3] See Maine Historical Collections, ix. 297–384.

[4] General Knox attempted a large landed proprietorship in Maine, but this enterprise met with dismal failure.

tions of the climate and soil, the iron hand of the Bay hierarchy slowly but surely moulded gentle and common into a community of almost uniform sentiment and action. The Puritanism of the Bay, with its subtle hostility to royal power, unconsciously levelled the people into a democracy.

Wheelwright and his followers found among the settlers who had preceded them in the settlement of Wells, few, if any, gentlemen; Boade, as noted above, and Bolles joined the community on the coming of the Exeter Associates. The early inhabitants of Wells were for the most part "poor whites," not at all the stuff to suffer martyrdom "for freedom to worship God."

The Exeter Associates had qualities much needed in the unevenly balanced community of New Somersetshire. Immediately becoming the controlling force at Wells, they and their descendants were its recognized leaders in war and peace for one hundred and fifty years.

There was little charm and great hardship in the life at Wells. All the Exeter company of the first generation, except Edmund Littlefield, sooner or later sought homes elsewhere. Wentworth went to Dover; Hutchinson and Needham removed, probably, to Boston; Augustine Storre may have returned to England. His son, William, settled at Dover and it was possibly he who is found a little later at Ipswich. It is supposed that Joseph Storer,[1] who remained at Wells, was a kinsman of Augustine Storre. Rishworth moved to York.

In October, 1643, shortly after the murder of Anne Hutchinson by Indians, Wheelwright wrote Governor Winthrop seeking pardon of the Bay Colony in terms which would make him appear a recanter of his convictions and a self-abasing apologist, if it were not that a supplementary letter to Winthrop of quite different tenor has been preserved. In the first letter he says that it then appeared to him that the cause for which he had contended was "not of that nature and consequence as was then presented to me under the false glare of Satan's temptations and mine own distempered passions," that he had "done very sinfully" and humbly craved the pardon of the State. It is evident that he

[1] The name was variously spelled, "Storr, Storre, Storer, Story, Storey, Storah." William, the son of Augustine, spelt his name Storer and Story. Cf. Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England, iv. 211.

did not expect that his words would be taken literally but rather in the sense that he was a "poor miserable sinner;" for on receiving answer from Winthrop, he hastened in reply to qualify his first letter and to explain his attitude more specifically. He asserted that he could not, "with a good conscience," condemn himself "for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations, and gross errors" as had been charged against him; that he was willing to admit his faults, but demanded opportunity to make just defence against charges of which he deemed himself innocent; that he did not come to the court as a suitor begging mercy upon his "confession," but to ask justice upon his "apology and lawful defence." The second letter is thoroughly straightforward and explicit; none the less it was ignored by the General Court in the vote passed 9 May, 1644, —

"that Mr. Wheelwright (upon p̃ticular, solemne and serious acknowledgement & confession by letter, of his evill carriages & of ye C^{rts} justice upon him for them) hath his banishmt taken offe, & is received in as a member of this co̅monwealth."

In 1647, Wheelwright accepted a call to be the assistant of the Rev. Mr. Dalton at the church at Hampton. With those who went with him from Wells, and those already settled at Hampton, eleven heads of families of the Exeter Colony made their homes at the latter place. Samuel Wheelwright, a boy of twelve, the son by the second wife, Mary Hutchinson, went with his father to Hampton.

In 1657 or 1656, Wheelwright made a voyage to England, not at first severing his connection with the Hampton church. He remained in England six years; probably, but for the downfall of the Puritan party, he would not have returned to New England. In a letter[1] to his parishioners at Hampton, bearing date 20 April, 1658, he says: —

"I have lately been at London about five weeks. My Lord Protector was pleased to send one of his guard for me, with whom [Cromwell] I had discourse in private for about an hour. All his speeches seemed to me very orthodox and gracious; no way favoring sectaries. He spake very experimentally to my appreciation of the work of God's grace, and knowing what opposition I met withal from some whom I shall not name, exhorted me to perseverance in these words, as I remember: 'Mr. Wheelright, stand fast in the Lord and you shall see that these notions

[1] Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts (ed. of 1765), i. 193, *note*.

will vanish into nothing;' or to that effect. Many men, especially the sectaries, exclaim against him with open mouths, but I hope he is a gracious man. I saw the Lord Mayor and Sheriff with their officers carry sundry fifth monarchy men to prison, as Mr. Can, Mr. Day, with others who used to meet together in Coleman street to preach and pray against the Lord Protector and the present power."

As to the "opposition," these fifth monarchy men "met withal," Wheelwright made no comment.

Hutchinson says that Cromwell, then on bad terms with Vane, was probably dissembling in the courtesy he showed Wheelwright, as he must have known of the friendship of Vane and Wheelwright. There would seem to be ground for the doubt of Cromwell's sincerity in this instance, as he had earlier applauded the Colony for "'banishing the evil seducers which had risen up among them,' of whom Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson were chief." However, the consideration shown him won Wheelwright over to the Protector's interest, and yet his friendly relations with Cromwell did not break his friendship with Vane. Hutchinson records that Wheelwright "lived in the neighborhood of Sr Henry Vane,[1] who had been his patron in New England, and now took great notice of him." Wheelwright's relations with Cromwell are generally understood to have proved of service to the Colony; we find in 1658 certain people of Wells and neighboring towns in a petition to the Lord Protector to confirm the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over them, referring to "their pyous and reverend friend, Mr. John Wheelwright, sometime of us, now of England," for information concerning their character and condition.

It has been suggested that the existence of Wheelwright's supposed portrait in the Massachusetts State House, is connected with the recognition by the Colony of his services at court.[2]

After Vane's execution, Wheelwright returned to Massachusetts.

[1] Wheelwright, in the conveyance of land to Richard Crispe, his son-in-law, dated 22 October, 1677, described himself as "late of Belleau, in the County of Lincoln." (Suffolk Deeds, x. 215.) At Belleau was Vane's country-seat.

[2] Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., found that this portrait was not that of John Higginson, as it had been labelled; close examination disclosing, painted in a slightly darker shade of the background color, an inscription giving an age and date that proved the portrait to be either John Wheelwright or Roger Conant, presumably the former. See "First Church, Quincy," Appendix.

He was pastor at Salisbury, where he died, being the oldest clergyman in the Colony, 15 November, 1679, aged 87. In his will he bequeathed his land at Wells and lands at Mumby, Minge, and Crofft, in "oulde England," to his children and grandchildren. He had, in 1677, conveyed an estate at Mawthorpe, Lincolnshire, to Richard Crispe, in consideration of his marriage to his youngest daughter, Sarah. He left his "bookes" to his son Samuel, and to his "latter wife's children all my plate to be equally divided amongst them by two indifferent parties chosen by themselves."

Cotton Mather, who did not sympathize with Wheelwright's religious views, for which, however, he thought him to have been "persecuted with too much violence," says of him, "He had the root of matter in him." This root had sprouts, which, if Mather had recognized them, he would have exerted himself strenuously to lop off. Charles Francis Adams says: —

> "The seed sown by Wheelwright in 1637 bore its fruit in the great New England protest of two centuries later, when, under the lead of Channing, the descendants in the seventh generation of those who listened to the first pastor at the Mount, broke away finally and forever from the religious tenets of the Puritans."

To return to the settlement at Wells: Alexander Rigby, a gentleman of high influence in the Puritan party, had purchased the "Plough Patent," one of the careless grants of the Plymouth Company which overlapped territory included in Gorges's patent. Parliament confirmed Rigby's rights to the exclusion of Gorges, a Royalist. Gorges died in 1647. His heirs took no steps to govern what remained to them of their province, whose people, those of Piscataqua, Gorgeana (York) and Wells formed a "Combination" to govern themselves in accordance with "the law of their native country." On this basis Edward Godfrey was chosen Governor of the province of Maine. This loose government continued until 1652, when the Bay Colony bestirred themselves to govern the whole Province. From this time on, for several years, there was a partisan struggle between the compact organization of the Bay Colony and the unassimilated people of the Province. Massachusetts claimed jurisdiction under its Charter. The people of the Province unsuccessfully appealed to Parliament that "they and their posterity might enjoy the immunities

and privileges of freeborn Englishmen." In 1653, the Colony appointed Commissioners to regulate the affairs of the Province. There was, except at Wells, general acquiescence in the authority of the Bay Colony.

Thomas Wheelwright, son of John, by his first wife, was permanently settled at Wells.[1] He was an active supporter of the Bay Colony in its contest with the Gorges family for jurisdiction in Maine; in 1652 he swore allegiance, as a freeman, to Massachusetts; the following year he was appointed magistrate at Wells. At this time Massachusetts was making strenuous efforts for the submission of the people of Wells, a majority of whom did not take kindly to the rule of the "Baymen."

Thomas Wheelwright, with others, of whom some, as Boade and Rishworth, were later of the Gorges party, petitioned the Lord Protector "for government under ye colony of ye Mass." They asserted that the Gorges party were for the most part "professed Royalists;" that "changing may throw us back into our former estate to live under negligent masters, ye danger of a confused anarchy as may make us a fit shelter for the worst of men, delinquents, and ill-affected persons." Under the rule of Gorges, Maine had suffered not a little by people of the kind described in this petition, still many of the better sort, although they had been forced to sign the submission of 1653, opposed the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. It is evident that the Maine people preferred lawless neighbors to the tyranny of the Baymen. Indeed, of the Exeter Associates and their sons, Thomas Wheelwright and Nicholas Cole alone consistently supported the Bay party in this controversy. Samuel Wheelwright, who returned to Wells to occupy the two hundred acres his father deeded to him before his voyage to England, did not join the political party his half-brother supported. Although the General Court exempted the people of Maine from the law of Massachusetts requiring freemen to be church-members, it did not absolve its people from

[1] Thomas Wheelwright is supposed to have lived in a part of Wells called Batcombe, which took its name from a hamlet similarly related to Wells, England. He is said to have been the only man of Wells of the first three generations, other than those who met untimely ends, who was a life-long bachelor. What is left of the house he began for his intended bride is known as "Thomas's Cellar."

the severe enactments repressing freedom of opinion. The court records show numerous prosecutions under these acts. In these political contests no small part of the opposition to the Bay Colony was due to the fear of its religious tyranny, and to this tyranny may be ascribed the later defections in Maine from the Bay party. It would appear that the "Antinomians" had more sympathy with the Church of England than with the Puritanism of the Bay; at all events, Episcopalians and Antinomians were on close terms of intimacy. Wheelwright and his associates, when forced to leave Exeter, sought asylum under a grant from Gorges. There were very friendly relations between Vane and Samuel Maverick, an Episcopalian, a sympathizer with the Gorgeses, an owner of land at Agamenticus, and in 1665 one of the King's Commissioners appointed in the Gorges interest. Maverick's son married a daughter of John Wheelwright. Anthony Checkley, Maverick's friend, married another. Edward Lyde, one of the first wardens of the Episcopal church in Boston, married a third daughter. Edward Rishworth, son of one of the principal opponents of the Colony, married a fourth. The Littlefields, Pormortt, and Boade, avowed their loyalty to the Church of England. William Wardell, of the former Exeter Company, was violent in denouncing the religion of the Bay Colony; he and William Cole were strenuous in their opposition to its aggressions.

After the submission of 1653, the Bay Commissioners took under consideration the church John Wheelwright had founded at Wells. It had, at this time, but four members, Pormortt, Wardell, Boade, and Francis Littlefield. Pormortt and Boade, at their own request, were dismissed; the church was then dissolved, an act without precedent, except the dissolution of the "Chapel of Ease" at Mount Wollaston. Conservative Puritanism thus crushed out the sole remaining organization of the more liberal Puritans.

Godfrey went to England to press Gorges's claim. As a result, in 1661, a committee of Parliament reported in favor of the patentee. The next year, Gorges appointed a council of twelve to govern the Province, among them Jocelyn, Rishworth, Bolles, and Champernowne. Wells refused to send representatives to the General Court. The following year some of the towns of the Province submitted to the Colony. Wells still held aloof. The

"engrasping colony," as Godfrey aptly calls it, then took rigorous steps to assert its authority; through its commissioners it appointed its own magistrates. There were many political persecutions: for instance, James Wiggin was sentenced to fifteen lashes on his naked back for saying, "with an oath," when asked if he would carry a dish of meat to the Bay Magistrates, "if it were poison he would carry it them."

Charles II. now gave his support to the Gorges claim. In 1665 the King's Commissioners[1] appointed twelve magistrates to govern the Province; among them were Jocelyn, Champernowne, Rishworth, and Samuel Wheelwright. Each party in this contest had its separate government, each denying the authority of the other, each instituting against the other legal proceedings which seem to have been, in part, political persecutions.[2]

Early in July, 1666, the Bay Colony, finding itself thwarted by the King's justices, sent commissioners[3] to York, supported by a body of foot and horse, authorized to arrest and bring to trial all persons presuming to exercise authority not given by the Colony.

The Bay Commissioners went to the meeting-house, where they ordered the towns that had not then recognized the authority of the Colony to make returns for associates and jurymen. The King's justices forbade the making of such returns; they presented the Commissioners with the royal warrants of their authority; these the Baymen refused to have read until they had finished their work; that afternoon they finished it, taking a leaf out of the book of the Lord Protector. Delegates from the towns, summoned by the King's justices, convened at the meeting-house; at the convention appeared the Massachusetts Commissioners, headed by their marshal, and, we may suppose, supported by their halberdiers, and backed by grim pikemen of the Bay. They found their way through, and addressed the exasperated assembly. After a stormy debate the Bay men, in the language of the caucus, "held the rail." With sturdy courage they declared, —

[1] Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick.

[2] At a court held at Saco, 1666, an indictment was found against one "Francis White for saying that Samuel Wheelwright was a lying justice."

[3] Maj.-Gen. John Leverett, Edward Tyng, Capt. Richard Waldron, Capt. Richard Pike.

"we have been sent to settle the peace of the Province, and God willing, we mean to finish up what we have begun. We know that the King's Commissioners have charged Massachusetts with treachery and threatened her with the vengeance of the King, but by divine assistance we have the power and we mean to exercise it."

They did so, declaring the election of five associates, and among other appointments making two of the Littlefields, recent converts to their party, respectively, Lieutenant and Ensign at Wells.

After this, the first overt act of the Bay Colony distinctly contemning royal authority, the power of the King's government in the Province gradually waned. On the other hand, having gained its point, the Colony does not appear to have been active in enforcing the laws in the territory it had seized, or perhaps, on account of some outbreak among its opponents, it sought to discipline the people by the temporary withdrawal of its authority. In 1668, Thomas Wheelwright writes as follows: —

"WORSHIPFUL MR. BELLINGHAM, — My humble service presented unto you. By the importunity of some of our neighbors, that the town of Wells is in a sad condition for lack of good government, which they had hoped they should here have enjoyed; but their hopes so defeated that it made their heart sick. Their humble desire is, that you would hasten."

The Littlefields, with others formerly of the Gorges party, petitioned the General Court, "that our care be taken under your tuition and government, that so your honorable care of justice may be executed among us as formerly;" prefacing their petition by the statement that they had been deprived of the benefits of the Colony's government, "by some among us who had been ill affected to your government," explaining that the petitioners, "in revolting and turning from our former obedience," had been led astray largely by the influence of Edward Rishworth.

There was much anger at this desertion. Several men, unwilling to abide the rule of Massachusetts, left the Province. Even with so many gone over to the Bay party, and its opponents weakened by emigration, Wells for some years persistently refused to send representatives to the General Court.

The opposition to the rule of Massachusetts gradually died away. Organized power near at hand superseded power with no force at its command, delegated from across the ocean to individuals.

In 1670, Samuel Wheelwright appears to have accepted the inevitable, and to have been in good standing with the Colony; he was then chosen one of the selectmen of Wells. In 1675, apparently at the time of threatened uprising against the authority of Massachusetts, Lieut. John Littlefield was ordered by the General Court to exercise his authority in putting down disturbances that might arise, after consulting with Samuel Wheelwright and William Sayer.

In 1676, a vote was passed in town meeting, authorizing Samuel Wheelwright, William Symonds,[1] and John Littlefield to petition the King "for future settlement under the Bay Government."

On summons from the King, dated 10 March, 1675–6, Massachusetts sent agents to England; its Charter was not annulled, but the right of soil and government of Sir Ferdinando Gorges was confirmed. Thereupon, in March, 1677, the Colony checkmated the King by purchasing from the later Ferdinando Gorges, his rights in the Province. A protest was made by certain of the Maine people. Massachusetts sent troops into the Province and proclaimed her right to govern under the Gorges purchase.[2] In 1681, inasmuch as the Provincial Council instituted by Massachusetts met at Wells, it became the capital of the Province. In spite of the general acceptance of the Colony's rule, from time to time the old rancor showed itself. John Bonython was indicted "for contempt of Massachusetts authority, and for the saying that the Baymen were Rogues, and that Rogue, Major Leverett, he hoped, will be hanged."

Whatever the rights of the Gorgeses, whatever the faults of the Bay Colony, the people of Maine soon found that they had done well in securing the support of a strongly constituted government within quick call. Governed as they had been under the Gorgeses, the settlement would, undoubtedly, have been destroyed in the Indian wars from which it was now to suffer, intermittently, for seventy years.

[1] William and Harlakenden Symonds were settlers at Wells. They were sons of Deputy Governor Samuel Symonds of Massachusetts. For Symonds and Harlakenden pedigrees, see Harleian Society's "Visitations of Essex."

[2] The Bay Colony appointed as its government: *President*, Thomas Danforth; *Council*, Capt. John Davis, Major Brian Pendleton, Capt. Joshua Scottow, Capt. John Wincoll, Edward Rishworth, Francis Hooke, Samuel Wheelwright, Capt. Charles Frost.

When King Philip's War broke out, panic seized the people of Wells. The Council, sitting at Boston, 9 December, 1675, —

"taking into their Consideration the p^{r}sent state of the Towne of wells in respect of the vnsetled frame of the Inhabitants there in this Tyme of Dainger . . . Ordered And Appointed that the Lieften$\overline{n}^{t}$ Jno Litlefeild doe Effectually Apply himself to Comand in cheife all that are Capable of bearing Armes in y^{t} Towne & to orde^{r} them in the best manner y^{t} may be for their mutuall safety. . . . [and] Consult wth m^{r} Samuel whelewright & m^{r} w^{m} Symonds. . . . [These three men are made a committee] to Impresse all such persons, prouission, Ammunition or otherthing wthin their owne Towne as shall be necessary & canno^{t} otherwise be had. And . . . all persons . . . there doe in no case desert the place . . . vpon penalty of being liable to forfeit all their estates & interests in y^{t} towne." [1]

Several attacks were made on the town, and many individuals were killed or captured, and at the close of King Philip's War the people of Wells, with horses, cattle, and crops destroyed, were in worse estate than they were under the hard conditions of the first settlement. In the eleven years' respite from Indian raids that followed, they made good the ravages of the past and took precautions for the next war. The town was protected by three garrison houses. Samuel Wheelwright had one at the "Town's End;" his son, John, had another palisaded house. This foresight was to be repaid. Wells was recognized by the enemy as the stronghold of the Province. They had planned to make great efforts for its destruction.

The next war came suddenly. 23 January, 1689, Samuel and John Wheelwright and Joseph Storer sent this excited letter to Major Frost, the commander of the colonial forces in Maine: —

"These are to inform you that Lieut. Fletcher came to Wells and brought two wounded men to Wells and the Indians has killed yesterday eight or nine men at Saco, (who were looking for horses to go along after the Indians, but now are disappointed and cut off,) and they judge there are sixty or seventy Indians that fought the English and they have burnt several houses and destroyed a deal of their corn, and we judge now is the time to send some of the army east to Saco. The people are not able to bury their dead without help; and this day just as they came away, they heard several guns go off, and know not what mischief is done. Pray give York notice forthwith."

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lxviii. 88.

The Baron de St. Castin, with his red brothers-in-law, was on the war-path. The garrison houses at Wells were filled with refugees from the eastward. No attack was made that year. St. Castin was held in check.

In May, 1690, Samuel Wheelwright, Joseph Storer, and Jonathan Hammond sent to Major Frost this despatch : —

"These are to inform you that the Indians and French have taken Casco Fort and to be feared that all the people are killed and taken. Therefore we desire your company here with us to put us in a posture of defence, for we are in a very shattered condition — some are for removing, some are for staying; so that we stand in great need of your assistance."

Later, the same men, with John Wheelwright, sent a despatch to Boston urging relief, saying: "The enemy is now very near us. Saco is this day on fire. We expect them upon us in a few hours or days at least." Major Frost wrote on the same date: "All Falmouth is certainly destroyed, and not one alive but what is in the enemy's hands." He goes on to report that the scouting vessels saw —

"Black Point, Spurwink, and Richmond's Island burning, so that nothing now remains eastward of Wells. There are 3 or 400 women and children come in from the eastward this week who will perish unless assisted of the charity of others. Wells will desert if not forthwith reinforced."

The Commonwealth sent a strong force to the eastward. St. Castin was still kept at bay. The Indians, however, made in the spring or summer an attempt on Wells, in which two men were killed, one taken captive, and several houses burned.

Wells was now the absolute frontier. Captain Andrews, then in command, wrote to the Council in October, 1690 : —

"I crave of your honors that if soldiers must be kept here that we may be relieved and others sent in our room, for there is such animosity between the soldiers and the inhabitants that there is little hopes of us doing anything that tends to God, honor, or the good of the country."

He complained that the people were on the point of leaving the garrison for their own houses; that they would subject themselves to no discipline; "that if the enemy comes upon us I am afraid their carelessness will be both their destruction and ours also."

The great number of refugees at Wells was a severe tax on its

people. In spite of repeated appeals the government sent no provisions for their maintenance. Major Benjamin Church exerted himself to obtain assistance for the destitute. On this errand he went to Rhode Island and to Plymouth. A collection was taken up in the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and forwarded to John Wheelwright, John Littlefield, and Joseph Storer, "to be appropriated as they judged necessary for the several garrisons." The militia of York and Wells were "empowered to impress and take any fat cattle, especially from such persons as desert the Province, they giving a true account of the cattle they shall take." Systematic preparations were made for war. The several garrisons were grouped into three commands under Samuel Wheelwright, Joseph Storer, and John Littlefield. Each was ordered to keep a constant patrol. The government did not seem to appreciate the exigency. 25 May, 1691, the Wheelwrights, Storer, and Hammond wrote to the Council, urging the need of assistance. Thirty-five men of Essex were sent to Wells in June, under the command of Captain Convers, the officer requested by the men of Wells. They came in the nick of time; half an hour after their arrival at Storer's garrison house, an attack was made by Moxus and his band. Of this attack Governor Sloughter of New York writes: "The Eastward Indians and some French have made an assault upon ye garrisons in and neere the town of Wells and have killed about six persons thereabout. They drove their cattle together and killed them before their faces." The siege lasted four days; then, discouraged by the resistance of the garrison, the savages retired, Madockanando crying out, "Moxus miss it this time; next year I 'll have the dog Convers out of his den."

After the raid in July, 1691, George Burroughs, John Wheelwright, and other leaders at Wells wrote to the government "for men with provisions and ammunition for strengthening of our town, . . . also that there be an effectual care taken that the inhabitants of this province may not quit their places without liberty first obtained from legal authority." Again, in September of the same year, they petitioned for soldiers and supplies.

Early in June, 1693, but fifteen soldiers garrisoned Wells. A reinforcement of thirteen men with supplies arrived by sea. Before a landing could be made "the cattel came frightened and bleeding out of the woods," and gave warning of the approach of the enemy.

Fifteen of the townsmen rallied to reinforce the soldiers at Storer's garrison house. Five hundred Indians and Canadians led by French officers beleaguered the garrison house and the vessels, and contrary to their custom fought in the open.[1] The fighting lasted three days, when the enemy withdrew having lost several of their number, among them their commander, La Broquerie, who was killed in the attempts to extricate from the mud a huge shield on wheels which his men were pushing towards the stranded sloops. This defence of Wells was, in the words of Mather, "an action as worthy to be related as, perhaps, any that occurs in our story."

After this foray, the garrison was greatly strengthened. Though individuals were killed in the town or neighborhood, among them Major Charles Frost, who was waylaid on his return from meeting, no concerted attack was made on the town for several years. Major March succeeded to Major Frost's command and was stationed at Wells with the ample force of five hundred men.

In such times, the owners of garrison houses were perforce inn-holders. There was relatively a greater rush of guests, and certainly a longer season for these frontier Bonifaces than now favors the Maine coast during a "hot wave."

Wheelwright, Storer, and Littlefield were inn-holders licensed to sell liquor. Byron says: —

> "There 's naught, no doubt, so much the spirit calms,
> As rum and true religion."

This satire well applies to the early New Englanders. There was much hard drinking at Wells, as elsewhere in the colonies. It was customary to serve jurors rations of liquors; judges were not infrequently indicted for drunkenness.

Games of all sorts were forbidden. John Wheelwright and Joseph Storer were indicted for "keeping keeles and bowles at

[1] Confident of victory, Mather relates, "they fell dividing persons and plunder, and agreeing that such an English Captain should be a slave to such a one, and such a gentleman in the town should serve such a one, and his wife be maid of honor to such or such a squaw proposed, and Mr. Wheelwright (instead of being a worthy Counsellor of the Province, which he now is), was to be the servant of such a Netop." A French officer, "habited like a gentleman," stepped to the front. He exhorted the band in English to attack fearlessly, assured them that victory was easy, that it would be a great prize to any of them to capture John Wheelwright as he was the life and strength of the town.

their houses contrary to law." This was in the dark days of 1692, when time fell heavy on the hands of men cooped within the palisades.

At this time, the Rev. George Burroughs,[1] the minister at Wells, was arrested, and executed, on the charge of witchcraft. After his arrest, we find Samuel Wheelwright with others petitioning the Governor and Council, as not only being "objects of pity with reference to the enemy and the length of the war, but also with reference to their spiritual concerns, there not being one minister of the Gospel in these parts; and in this town of Wells there are about forty soldiers and no chaplain, which does much dissatisfy them, especially some of them." They hoped that if a minister were sent there would be "sufficient satisfaction and encouragement to stand our ground."

In 1697, Samuel Wheelwright, then representative, petitioned that the taxes of Wells should be remitted, and that the soldiers should aid the inhabitants of Wells in rebuilding their garrisons, in view of the fact of "the distresses they are put unto, lying frontier to the enemy and often prest by their attack, and their fortifications much decayed and out of repair." If their prayers are granted, they agree that "so will they rebuild and further adventure their lives and estates in standing their ground and defending their Majesties' interests in those Eastern Parts."[2]

At the close of the war, the people of Wells went actively into lumbering. Grants to build saw-mills at Great Falls, and later, to take logs wherever found, were given John Wheelwright and others by the General Court. To Samuel Wheelwright, also, was given a grant to build a saw-mill at the same place. Rosin and tar were manufactured. Life was simple, hard, and manly. The duties of the leaders of the settlement in peace and war were on a plane sufficiently wide to prevent them from becoming simply parochial.

Col. Samuel Wheelwright died 13 May, 1700. We have seen him early appointed magistrate at Wells by the King's Commissioners. In 1677, he was representative at the General Court for York and Wells. In 1681, he was appointed by Charles II. one of the Provincial Council of Maine; in 1689, Judge of Probate; by William and Mary, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was

[1] Burroughs was at one time Rev. John Wheelwright's assistant at Salisbury.

[2] Province Laws, vii. 129, 521.

a member of the Massachusetts Council for the Province of Maine, 1695–1698.

This clause in his will has interest: "I do give and bequeath to Esther, my beloved wife, all my cattle of all sorts, with my negro servant named Titus."

The vessels that brought rum and molasses to Wells brought slaves also. They were sold in open market at Wells and York; their offspring were disposed of with as little compunction by their masters, as their descendants would to-day sell a calf. The "institution" of slavery appears to have had greater vitality in the Province of Maine than elsewhere in New England. At York there was a slave factory, in which were kept several negro families whose children were regularly sold to those who chose to buy. Here was a germ of an industry like to that which in later times so flourished in the Old Dominion.

During the war of '92, two companies of soldiers were quartered at John Wheelwright's garrison. Finding the house too small for their accommodation, they tore it down; shortly afterwards, before the house could be rebuilt, the troops were ordered to another station. The government did not make restitution. Later, Wheelwright rebuilt the house at his own expense.

In 1700, there was presented to the General Court the petition of John Wheelwright,[1] then representative, which states "that by reason of a long and wasting warr the greatest part of the inhabitants are slaine or gone out of the Towne and butt about 6 houses left in which are about Twenty six or Twenty seven familyes and most of them extremely poor, and the Enemy did also burne the house which they had built for the publick worship of God." They ask assistance now that peace was "concluded," to rebuild their church and to pay their minister's salary, "otherwise the ordinances of God will in great measure Sink among them, who are not able alone to afford a Subsistence to a Minister." An order in Council was passed "for payment of fifteen pounds unto Mr. Samuel Emery, Minister of Wells."[2]

War was declared against England by France in August, 1702. John Wheelwright wrote to Governor Dudley that, having had experience of the "horrible desatefulness" of the Indians, he did

[1] Province Laws, vii. 618.

[2] See also Chap. 18 of the Resolves of 1699–1700, Province Laws, vii. 222, 618.

not trust their vows of friendship on which the Governor seemed to rely.

"Their teachers instruct them that there is no faith to be kept with Hereticks such as they account us to be. . . . This town being nearest the enemy and the farthest from any help or Relief, we cannot but apprehend ourselves to be in great danger, and especially at this season of the year, our necessities calling us generally from our homes to get our hay and corn secured. Our inhabitants do therefore pray that your Excellency should assist us with some men, twenty or thirtie."

At the same time Wheelwright begged permission to build a garrison house at the Town's End, or else he should be forced to carry a large family to "the middle of the town" where he had "but little to maintain them withal." After some delay the permission to build the garrison house was granted, but too late to add to the strength of the town. On the tenth of August, 1703, it was surprised by the Indians. Wells then suffered the greatest disaster in its history; thirty-nine of its inhabitants were killed or captured, among them many of the Wheelwright kin. Two nephews of John Wheelwright — one a babe, the other a boy of five, children of William and Anne Parsons — were killed, and their young sister taken captive. The father and mother fled to York. The records of the Seigniory of St. Sulpice at Le Lac des Deux Montagnes[1] show that Anne Parsons, with her daughter Catherine, was captured at York 22 August of the same year. Catherine was baptized into the Roman Catholic Church. The fate of her mother is unknown. Her father survived the destruction of his family but a few months.

In this raid on Wells, Esther, a daughter of Col. John Wheelwright, was captured. Her father tried in vain to effect her exchange. In his will, he pathetically mentioned "daughter Esther Wheelwright, if living in Canada, whom I have not heard from these many years, and hath been absent about thirty years." Esther's name appears in a Canadian list of English captives taken in the wars between New France and New England and baptized into the Roman Catholic Church. She is there recorded as an Ursuline nun, called "of the Infant Jesus." She was, tradition says, Superior of the convent. She was buried at Quebec, 28 November, 1785. Letters from her to her family when in Canada

[1] Abbé Tanguay's "A Travers les Registres."

are known to have been in existence; a piece of her embroidery, worked in the convent, with certain Indian curiosities, sent by her to her grand-niece, Esther Wheelwright of Roxbury, were seen, fifty years ago, by a member of the family now living. All trace of these letters and gifts is lost.

In this list of converted captives are the names of Mary (Rishworth) Plaisted, a cousin of John Wheelwright, and her two daughters. They were captured 25 January, 1692, probably in the attack on York.

In this connection extracts from letters of a later captive, Lieut. Josiah Littlefield, have interest. He writes from Montreal in 1708:

"Now I have liberty granted me to rite to my friends and to the governor, and for my redemption and for Wheelrite's child to be redeemed by two Indian prisoners that are with the English now, and I have been with the Governor this morning and he has promised that if our governor will send them we shall be redeemed, for the Governor has sent a man to redeem Wheelrite's child and do looke for him in now every day with the child to Moriel where I am, and I would pray Whelerite to be brief in this matter, that we may come home before winter."

Another letter from Littlefield says: "I would pray you . . . Wheelwright dear friends to be mindful in the matter concerning our redemsion. I have riten to the governor at boston."

After the raid of 1703, Wells was left in a pitiable condition. John Wheelwright headed this petition to the General Court, asking remission of taxes: —

"We who are the Frontier wing of the body of the Frontier towns are most of all impoverished and diminished. More than a third part of us who are left, being destitute of employment and income, are so exceeding poor that if the constable, who hath already used all means more gentle should execute the law in severity he must take their bodies."

The General Court ordered a fair abatement of the tax levy.

In spite of the danger of outdoor work, John Wheelwright tore down that fall the house built by his grandfather at the "Town's End," and built on its site a new garrison house. Hostilities ceased, as was usual, with the coming of winter. In the spring, the Indians went again on the war-path. Refugees and the townspeople again flocked inside the palisades. The annals of this war record desultory attacks upon individuals and upon small parties.

The Indians had found this method of work less dangerous to themselves and more harassing to the English than general attacks upon the town.

A man with a guard of three soldiers went out a mile from Wheelwright's garrison to bring in cattle. A party of Indians, waylaid them on their return; two of the Englishmen were killed, and one captured. There were numerous captives taken and many persons killed from time to time.

The following year a party of Indians attacked Winter Harbor; Wells was warned by a messenger; the great guns gave warning to the people. The Indians made no attack. They hovered in the neighborhood and picked off stragglers. It was at this time that Lieutenant Littlefield, whose letters from Canada have been quoted, was captured.

The government finally made an aggressive campaign to the eastward and in Acadia, so that Wells was freed from Indian attacks until the fall of 1709, when a soldier was killed as he went between a garrison house and the village. The savages came again in the spring of 1710. They killed two men who were planting corn. During the next year, several people, surprised either in their fields or houses, were killed or wounded. The straits to which the people were reduced to find opportunity to plant for a crop, with any protection from Indian attack, is shown by the permission granted to certain persons to till the highway four rods wide in the neighborhood of John Wheelwright's garrison house.

On the fifteenth of September, 1712, there was a great merry-making at John Wheelwright's house. His daughter Hannah was married to Elisha Plaisted. The bridegroom came from his home at Portsmouth with a large escort of friends. Guests came, too, from all the country round. The whole party spent the night within the stockade.

In the morning, when some of the guests started for home, several horses were missing. The three men who went in search of the horses had gone but a short distance when two were killed, and the third wounded and captured by the Indians. The firing told the story at the garrison. The bridegroom and eight or ten others, with a rashness perhaps not unconnected with the festivities of the previous night, rushed to their horses and started in pursuit of the Indians. Two hundred savages, lurking in ambush, fired

on the party. One was killed; all the horses were shot under their riders. The bridegroom was taken prisoner. The rest of the party retreated. Seventy men set out to give battle to the Indians, who were concealed in the forest. A slight skirmish took place, in which one man was killed on either side. A flag of truce was then sent out to learn upon what terms Plaisted's ransom could be had. The Indians, knowing that they had a valuable prize, were in no haste to come to terms. They disappeared, taking with them their captives. The next that was heard of Plaisted was in this letter written to his father: —

Sir, — I am in the hands of a great many Indians, with which there are six captains. The sum that they will have for me is 50 pounds, and 30 pounds for Tucker, my fellow prisoner, in good goods, as broadcloth and some provisions, some tobacco pipes, pomistone, stockings, and a little of all things. If you will come to Richmond's Island in five days at farthest, for here are two hundred Indians and they belong in Canada. If you do not come in five days you will not see me, for Captain Nathaniel, the Indian, will not stay no longer, for the Canada Indian is not willing to sell me. Pray, sir, do not fail, for they have given me one day for the days were but four at first. Give my kind love to my dear wife.

This from your dutiful son till death,

Elisha Plaisted.

When ransomed, Plaisted took his wife to Portsmouth.[1] It is supposed that Hannah's younger brother, Jeremiah, left the frontier with her. He lived in Portsmouth, and from him is descended the Newburyport branch of the family.

A treaty of peace was signed the following year. Wells then had respite from these savage raids. Her people were much impoverished, their tillage had been restricted through fear of attack, their houses, barns, and saw-mills burned, their cattle killed. Although lacking in material things, and not a little fallen from the standards of living brought from the mother country by the first settlers, these sons and grandsons of the Exeter Associates were, as the New England phrase goes, "real folks." They had intelligence, fair education,[2] physical strength, courage, and char-

[1] John Plaisted, their son, when a lad, was captured by Indians and taken to Canada.

[2] It would so appear from petitions and letters, but on the other hand, Col. Samuel Wheelwright's wife and some of Joseph Bolles's children could not write.

acter, qualities that made them good counsellors in peace and trusted leaders in war.

The social lines of this frontier community were drawn with sharpness. It would seem that civic or military service, with property and character, rather than the claims of descent, was the basis upon which such matters were decided. In the division of pew-holders into classes, the lines were distinctly drawn through their own brothers and kinsfolk.

After Queen Anne's War, the several industries of Wells prospered. Its population increased. The vote of the town-meeting of March, 1716, shows that this increase of population was not thought to be an unmixed good by the old settlers who had fought in defence of the settlement. By this vote, which was signed by the landowners of Wells, headed by Col. John Wheelwright, the claim was made of "right and property of all common and undivided lands within said township, for themselves and for their heirs forever."

In 1718, when the Scotch-Irish colonists from about Londonderry came to New England and had selected for their settlement the tract now called Londonderry, in New Hampshire, they were referred to Col. John Wheelwright to obtain title to the land, as "he had the best Indian title derived from his ancestors." There were one or two other claimants of the same territory, a tract ten miles square, yet the government protected the settlers under Colonel Wheelwright's deed, which is dated 20 October, 1719, in which he conveys "by virtue of a Deed or Grant made to his grandfather a minister of the Gospel 17 May 1629."[1]

[1] The Indian deed of 1629 was a later forgery, of which, however, no suspicion rests on any member of the Wheelwright family. It was made to serve the defendant in one of the suits of the purchasers of the Mason Patent for the recovery of lands in 1708. There possibly was an earlier Indian deed than that of Exeter made to Rev. John Wheelwright and his company, for Wheelwright made affidavit at Hampton, 13 October, 1663, that there had been a purchase made, through an agent, from certain Sagamores "of which Runawit," who was not party to the Exeter transaction "was one." Some credence may also be given to Cotton Mather's statement that "good men . . . knew of such an instrument, but concluded it lost and gone beyond recovery." The tradition of the existence of an early deed probably suggested the forgery. Wheelwright's affidavit and Cotton Mather's letter are given in Belknap's History of New Hampshire, appendix.

In 1722, the Indians again became hostile. In this and in the ensuing years, several persons in Wells and its neighborhood were killed. Lieutenant-Governor Dummer wrote to John Wheelwright, —

"Charge the people within the district of your regiment to be very careful when they go into the fields not to expose themselves by going out weak and without arms, but that they associate in their work in parties of ten or a dozen men, well armed, keeping a centinel with their guns."

It would appear that these admonitions were little heeded; several parties and individuals at work in the fields were after this warning slaughtered by the Indians.

In August, 1724, three companies of English, in which were several men of Wells, attacked the Indian village of Norridgewock. Rale, the French priest, was killed, and the village destroyed.[1]

One incident of this war seems to reflect little credit on a son of Colonel Wheelwright, and, almost certainly, none on the men under his command. In November of the same year, Capt. Samuel Wheelwright[2] was ordered to go with a company of fifty men to dislodge a party of Indians who were back of Ossipee Pond. The detachment delayed three days at Wells in making preparations. On account of the "heavy snow on the bushes," they consumed six or seven days more in a march of sixty miles. Finally, the Captain's journal says: "In the morning when I came to muster the men in order to march, some were sick, some lame, and some deadhearted, and the snow being somewhat hard, so that I could not get

[1] Capt. Johnson Hammond, the leader of this expedition, laid before the Massachusetts Council twenty-five Indian scalps and the scalp of Ralle. He received a bounty of four hundred and five pounds for the Indian scalps, and one hundred pounds for that of the priest, to be divided among his officers and men. See Letters of Major Thomas Westbrooke and Others, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlviii. 187–188.

[2] In Massachusetts Archives, lii. 232, is a letter of 26 July, 1725, from Capt. Samuel Wheelwright, reporting the capture at Wells of ten Indian deserters, showing the employment of Indians as enlisted men. Letters of Major Westbrooke and Others, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvii. 319. In the same collection are other references to Col. John and Capt. Samuel Wheelwright.

over 18 or 20 that were fit to march forward; upon which I called the officers together for advice, and so concluded to return again, which was contrary to my inclination." Whatever Samuel's "inclination" may have been, that of his men is only too evident; they accomplished the return journey in two or three days.

The "deadheartedness" of the Wells levy missed for its people the glory of sharing in Lovewell's victory which practically ended this war; although, as this letter of Col. John Wheelwright to the Lieutenant-Governor, dated 27 October, 1726, shows, the people of the Province were still subject to savage maraudings: —

"Philip Durrell of Kennebunk, went from his house with one of his sons to work, the sun being about two hours high, leaving at home his wife, a son twelve years old, and a married daughter with a child 20 months old. He returned home, a little before sunset, when he found his family all gone, and his house set on fire, his chests split open and all his clothing carried away. He searched the woods and found no signs of any killed."

It was later learned at a conference with the Indians that the boy was sold to the French and the other three killed.

Wells had suffered less in this than in previous wars. Not a few had been killed, but there had been no attack in force on the town. The Indians had found Wells a hard nut to crack in the past wars; now the number and strength of the garrison houses had been increased. In 1724, on the death of Mr. Emery, the minister, Col. John Wheelwright and Deacon Thomas Wells were appointed a committee to go to Boston and Cambridge to get some one to preach for several weeks. They were directed to apply first to Mr. Lowell, then to Mr. Thompson, then to Mr. Dennis. Mr. Thompson preached for six weeks and returned. Finally, Mr. Samuel Jefferds, a Harvard graduate of 1722, accepted the call. He married Sarah, daughter of Col. John Wheelwright. He lived in the manse, built in 1727, which was standing until three years ago.

In the spring of 1745, the fighting men of Wells, sixty-two strong, among them Thomas, the son of Joseph Wheelwright, rallied under Col. John Storer, to join that strangely combined muster and camp-meeting, the expedition against Louisburg. Probably there were few in the Provincial army who answered the summons to war with

more alacrity than the men of Wells; a chance was offered to pay, with interest, their old scores against the French and Indians. Jeremiah Wheelwright, who went with the Plaisteds to Portsmouth, after the disagreeable ending of their nuptial festivities, was a lieutenant in a New Hampshire regiment in the Louisburg expedition.[1]

At this time, if we can trust the prejudiced statement of the people of Kittery in a petition for remission of their taxes, "Wells has excellent farms, a Lumber trade too. Seated in a Pleasant Bay for fish, a Wealthy and Careful People, Can Well Surport themselves and are as independent as any town in the County."

Col. John Wheelwright died 13 August, 1745. He had been called "the bulwark of Massachusetts for defence against Indian assaults." Besides his services at home, he had been an officer under Captain Convers, went to Pemaquid and Sheepscot, thence to Taconnet, and was afterwards stationed at Fort Mary on Saco River. In 1742, he and Eliakim Hutchinson, probably of Boston, were chosen representatives for Wells. He was appointed Commissioner to the Indians in 1717, and again in 1721,[2] a Councillor of the Province, Judge of Probate, and of the Court of Common Pleas. His effigy, in judge's robes, evidently from a portrait, is carved in low relief upon his tombstone in the "town lot," at Wells.

This item in Col. John Wheelwright's will is of interest: —

"In consideration of the love and affection I bear to my beloved wife, I give her all my cattle and creatures of every kind, negro and mulatto servants."

When war was declared against France in 1753, a considerable levy went from Wells to serve under Wolfe in his Canadian campaign, among them Simon Jefferds, a grandson of Col. John Wheelwright; and there is a tradition that his son, Lieut. Jeremiah Wheelwright, of Portsmouth, was with Wolfe at Quebec. During this war, another grandson, Daniel Wheelwright, went to Fort Halifax. With the fall of Quebec, Wells ceased to be a frontier town.

[1] The John Wheelwright who served in the Louisburg campaign is not known to have been a descendant of Rev. John Wheelwright. He came to Cohasset, Massachusetts, about 1720, and was the ancestor of our associate Mr. Edward Wheelwright.

[2] See Journal of Rev. Joseph Baxter of Medfield, Missionary to the Eastern Indians, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 52.

In the later times of comparative freedom from Indian attack, Col. John Wheelwright probably prospered in his various enterprises, for we find his eldest son, John, a merchant in Boston before he was thirty. He is described as of "Boston and Wells." He was a Councillor of the Province, as had been his father and grandfather. He died in 1760, in Boston, where he is buried in King's Chapel burying-ground; on his tomb is carved a coat-of-arms.[1]

John Wheelwright's eldest son Nathaniel[2] was a merchant of London, England; his youngest son Joseph went to Halifax on the evacuation of Boston. Neither of these sons or their descendants ever returned to New England.

Job, son of Col. John Wheelwright's second son Samuel, also settled in Boston; he was a protestor against Whigs in 1774. He is found in Boston after the Revolution, and from him is descended the Boston branch of the family.

The other sons of Samuel stayed at Wells; from them and from Joseph, the brother of Col. John Wheelwright, are descended all the Maine Wheelwrights; they were Whigs in the Revolution, as were the descendants of Jeremiah Wheelwright of Portsmouth. Several men of these families served the patriot cause in the Revolution.[3]

[1] The English branch of the family uses the same coat-of-arms with a difference in one of the colors indicated in the King's Chapel carving; the motto "Spectemur Agendo," used with the coat of the English family, is an assumption not unwarranted by the story of the family, but there is no evidence authorizing the coat-of-arms. It may be that an enterprising English stonecutter or Boston carriage painter, who profited through the social aspirations of many New England families of that day, acted in stead of the Heralds' College.

[2] The Rev. Charles Apthorp Wheelwright, the grandson of Nathaniel, was Prebendary of Lincoln. His son Rev. George and his grandson Rev. Charles Apthorp Wheelwright were clergymen of the Church of England.

[3] Hon. John Wheelwright, formerly a Councillor of the Province, son of Samuel, was chosen in 1779 to prosecute all who were inimical to the patriot cause. Aaron, grandson of Joseph, was one of the Committee of Correspondence at the same time. Capt. Daniel, brother of John above-mentioned, died in service, 1778. Jeremiah of Gloucester, son of Lieut. Jeremiah of Portsmouth, was Commissary in Arnold's Expedition to Canada; he died in 1778, from the effects of exposure in this campaign; his son, Abraham, served in the Continental army from December, 1775, to July, 1777; from that time until or near the close of the war he was first officer on several privateers.

The descendants of the Rev. John Wheelwright and of his Exeter Associates were in successive generations until after the Revolution the recognized leaders at Wells. Men of their blood probably control its town affairs to-day. It is possible that the enterprises of the town may yield as much return now as a century or more ago, but relatively, as compared with developments elsewhere, Wells has no importance. Once the capital of the Province of Maine, it is now but a straggling farm village; its people, the descendants of the Exeter Associates and of the Bay Puritans, of the "gentlemen adventurers" and of the "poor whites" of "New Somersetshire" alike have merged into the mass of the country-folk of the Maine coast.

Mr. Edward Wheelwright communicated a Memoir of Francis Parkman for publication in the Transactions.

MEMOIR

OF

FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D.

BY

EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT.

BIRTH AND ANCESTRY.

FRANCIS PARKMAN, eldest son of the Rev. Francis (H. C. 1807) and Caroline (Hall) Parkman, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, 16 September, 1823.

He was a lineal descendant, both on his father's and on his mother's side, of ancestors resident in the Colonies both of The Massachusetts Bay and of Plymouth prior to their union in 1692, and thus amply fulfilled one of the requisites for admission to The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.[1] His earliest American ancestor in the paternal line, Elias Parkman, was living at Dorchester, Massachusetts, as early as 1633; while a progenitor on his mother's side, John Cotton of Plymouth (as he was called, to distinguish him from his father, John Cotton of Boston), was pastor of the church in that town, to which he removed with his family in November, 1667; and his son Rowland, from whom Parkman was descended, was born in Plymouth in December of the same year.[2]

Mr. Parkman's descent in the paternal line, through eight generations, is as follows: —

1. THOMAS PARKMAN, of Sidmouth, Devon, England.
2. ELIAS PARKMAN, born in England, settled in Dorchester, Mass., 1633, married BRIDGET ——.
3. ELIAS, b. in Dorchester, Mass., 1635, m. SARAH TRASK of Salem.

[1] See By-Laws, chap. ii. art. 1.

[2] Sibley's Harvard Graduates, i. 496 *et seq.*; iii. 323 *et seq.*

Yours very truly
Francis Parkman

4. William, b. in Salem, Mass., 1658, m. Eliza Adams of Boston.
5. Ebenezer, b. in Boston, 1703, minister at Westborough, Mass.; m. (2d) Hannah Breck.
6. Samuel, b. in Westborough, m. (2d) Sarah Rogers.
7. Francis, b. in Boston, 1788, m. (2d) Caroline Hall.
8. Francis, b. in Boston, 1823.

The following is his descent on the mother's side, through the same number of generations, from John Cotton: —

1. John Cotton, b. in England, 1585, m. (2d) Sarah Hankredge of Boston, England, widow of William Story. Came to Boston, 1633.
2. John Cotton, b. in Boston, Mass., 1639, m. Joanna Rossiter.
3. Rowland Cotton, b. in Plymouth, 1667, m. Elizabeth Saltonstall, widow of Rev. John Denison.
4. Joanna Cotton, b. in Sandwich, 1719, m. Rev. John Brown of Haverhill, Mass. (H. C. 1714.)
5. Abigail Brown, born in ——, m. Rev. Edward Brooks of Medford.
6. Joanna Cotton Brooks, b. in ——, 1772, m. Nathaniel Hall of Medford.
7. Caroline Hall, b. in Medford, 1794, m. Rev. Francis Parkman of Boston.
8. Francis Parkman, b. in Boston, 1823.

Of Elias Parkman, his first American ancestor, it is known that he resided in Dorchester, Windsor, Ct., and lastly Boston, and that he married and had nine children, — six sons and three daughters. Two of the sons, John and Samuel, appear to have gone to Virginia. Two daughters were married: one, Abigail, to John Trask, of Salem; the other, Rebecca, to John Jarvis, of Boston. Elias, the eldest son, married a daughter of Captain William Trask, of Salem, and resided in that town till 1662–63, when he removed with his family to Boston. His death took place at Wapping, London, England, in 1691.

William, eldest son of Elias and Sarah (Trask) Parkman, born in Salem 29 March, 1658, was in 1712 one of the original members, and afterward a ruling elder, of the New North Church in Boston.[1] He married, in 1680, Eliza, daughter of Alexander and Mary Adams, of Boston, and died in Boston, 30 November, 1730. He was buried in the graveyard on Copp's Hill.

[1] DeForest's History of Westborough, p. 65.

Ebenezer, twelfth child of William and Eliza (Adams) Parkman, born in Boston 5 September, 1703, was a man of note. He graduated at Harvard College in 1721, at the age of seventeen, and in 1724, when only twenty-one, was ordained minister of the church at Westborough, Massachusetts, a position which he held for fifty-eight years, relinquishing it only with his life in 1782, in the eightieth year of his age. He is spoken of as a good example of the New England minister of the olden time. He magnified his calling, and was careful not to lower its dignity, wielding almost despotic power with firmness guided by discretion and tempered with kindness.[1] He was largely concerned in *making* the history of the town, and also in *writing* it. The records of the church were carefully and neatly kept by him on diminutive pages and in a microscopic hand during the whole of his pastorate, and he also kept during the same period a private diary written in the same almost undecipherable characters.[2] A portion of this diary is preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester; other portions have been distributed among his descendants. Its quaint humor was a never-ceasing delight to his great-grandson the historian.

It would have been a strange sight to modern eyes to see the worthy pastor returning placidly on horseback from Boston, with conscience void of offence, while a negro slave, just purchased of his father, William Parkman, trudged dejectedly behind. A little more than a year after, the slave, whose name was Maro, sickened and died; when his master made this quaintly sad entry in his diary: "Dark as it has been with us, it became much darker about the sun-setting; the sun of Maro's life Sat."[3]

Many of the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman's sermons have also been preserved, two of them, at least, in print. One of these was the "Convention Sermon," which he was invited to preach before the convention of ministers of the Province of Massachusetts Bay on 28 May, 1761. This invitation was thought a great honor for the Westborough parson, and testifies to the esteem in which he was held by his ministerial brethren. In it he alludes to Wolfe's then recent victory at Quebec, an achievement destined to receive new

[1] DeForest's History of Westborough, p. 187.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 87.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 191, note.

lustre from the pen of his great-grandson one hundred and twenty-three years later.[1]

The reverend pastor, or, as he is styled on his tombstone, "the first Bishop of the Church in Westborough,"[2] also wrote "An Account of Westborough," which has been printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Second Series, Vol. X., p. 84. It is only two pages in length; but in that brief space he falls into error in regard to the origin of the name "Chauncy," first given to the infant settlement, and still retained by a sheet of water within the limits of the town. He had relied too implicitly upon a local tradition,[3] — a fault which we may be sure his great-grandson would never have committed.

The minister was twice married, and had sixteen children, eight sons and eight daughters, all but three of whom lived to grow up. His third son, William, was the boy of seventeen who at Ticonderoga, in 1758, "carried a musket in a Massachusetts regiment," as related by his great-nephew, and "kept in his knapsack a dingy little note-book in which he jotted down what passed each day."[4] There is an earlier mention of this youth in his father's diary, where it is recorded that "Mr Solomon Wood, Tything man, complains of [his] rudeness at church."[5] He was then ten years old. Another son, Breck Parkman, was one of the minute-men who marched from Westborough on 19 April, 1775.[6]

But the son in whom we are most interested was Samuel, the sixth son and twelfth child, who, like many another poor boy, left his native village in early youth, to make his fortune, and made it. He became in fact one of the richest merchants of the New England metropolis, and the share of his ample means which finally descended to his grandson enabled the historian to meet the heavy cost of the researches without which his work would have been impossible. He was a man of fine presence and courtly manners, warm-hearted, hospitable, and generous. Like his father, he was

[1] Montcalm and Wolfe was published in 1884.

[2] DeForest's History of Westborough, p. 189.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 18, 479.

[4] Montcalm and Wolfe, ii. 163.

[5] DeForest's History of Westborough, p. 136.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 163. At page 181 it is said that in December, 1776, "at least two of his (the minister's) sons were in the army."

twice married, but did not quite equal him in the number of his children; he had only eleven.

He was a liberal benefactor of Harvard University, having in 1814 conveyed to the Corporation a township in the District of Maine containing upwards of twenty-three thousand acres, then valued at twenty thousand dollars, to be applied to the support of a theological professor. The land, however, soon declined in value, and when sold the proceeds amounted to scarcely more than a fourth of the sum intended to be given. President Quincy, in his "History of Harvard University," in recording the gift, says of the giver: —

"Through assiduity and talent he rose to eminence and opulence among the merchants of Boston. His manners were simple, and his habits domestic and retired. His virtues sought their chief field for exercise in the domestic circle, where his affections were fixed and reciprocated by a numerous and most attached family. During twenty-three years he held the office of deacon in the New North Church in Boston, and that society was the frequent object of his bounty, as well as of his care. . . . Mr. Parkman, after a life of prosperity and usefulness, died in September, 1824, in the seventy-second year of his age, respected and lamented."[1]

The Rev. Francis Parkman, father of the historian, is well remembered by the older members of our Society. Born in Boston in 1788, he graduated at Harvard in 1807, and received the honorary degree of S. T. D. in 1834. From 1813 to 1849 he was the beloved pastor of the New North Church in Boston, — the same church of which his great-grandfather, William Parkman, was one of the founders in 1712, and of which his father, Samuel Parkman, had been deacon. The church edifice, built in 1804, still stands at the corner of Hanover and Clark Streets, very little altered in external appearance. It has now passed into the possession of the Roman Catholics, by whom it has been named the Church of St. Stephen. Mr. Parkman was from 1819 to 1849 one of the Overseers of Harvard University, to which, in 1840, he made a donation of five thousand dollars as supplementary to his father's gift; and the two united, together with contributions from a few other per-

[1] Quincy's History of Harvard University, ii. 416.

sons, now constitute the endowment of the Parkman Professorship of Theology. He published in 1829 "The Offering of Sympathy," a work which was highly esteemed both in England and in this country. Some occasional sermons from his pen were also printed. He held a prominent place among the Unitarian clergy of his day, was esteemed an eloquent preacher, and was thought to have "a special gift in prayer." His conversation was delightful, abounding in wit and humor. He was a kind and indulgent father, and though he did not sympathize with all his son's aspirations and pursuits, he never thwarted or opposed them.

Of John Cotton of Boston, who heads the list of Francis Parkman's ancestors in the maternal line, it is not necessary to speak.

His son, John Cotton of Plymouth, is not so well known, yet he was in many respects a remarkable man. He had a wonderful facility in acquiring the language of the Indians, and preached to them in their own tongue for two years as an assistant to the elder Mayhew at Martha's Vineyard. He also, at the request of the apostle Eliot, revised and corrected the second and last edition of the Indian Bible.

"He was," says his son Rowland, "a living Index to the Bible. He had a vast and strong memory . . . had a noted faculty in sermonizing and making speeches in public. . . . He was . . . a tender parent, a hearty friend, helpful to the needy, kind to strangers," and moreover, "was a man of universal acquaintance and correspondence, so that he had and wrote (perhaps) twice as many letters as any man in the country."

He graduated at Harvard College in 1657, and died at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1699, of yellow fever.[1]

His son, Rowland Cotton, was also a graduate of Harvard (1685). At the age of twenty-five he was chosen to the pastoral office in Sandwich, Massachusetts, and retained the position until his death, a period of more than thirty years. "He had a good faculty in making and delivering his sermons, so that he was a celebrated and admired preacher, . . . yet would never suffer any of his works to come out in print. . . . He had and wrote, as his father before him, a multitude of letters." Like his father, also,

[1] Sibley's Harvard Graduates, i. 496–507.

he was well versed in the Indian language, and preached to the natives once a month.[1] His wife was the only daughter of Nathaniel Saltonstall (H. C. 1659), and great-granddaughter of Sir Richard Saltonstall. Thus, through her, our historian was descended from still another of the historic families of New England, whose lineal representative in the eighth generation we count among our members.[2]

Mention should be made of another of Mr. Parkman's maternal ancestors, his great-grandfather, the Rev. Edward Brooks, of Medford, where he was born in 1733. He graduated at Harvard in 1757, and a few years later was called to the church at North Yarmouth, Maine, where, however, he remained only five years, having been dismissed on account of his too liberal views. Returning to his native town in 1769, he was residing there at the outbreak of the Revolution. "On the 19th of April, 1775," as related by his son, Peter Chardon Brooks, "he went over to Lexington, on horseback, with his gun on his shoulder and in his full-bottomed wig." His chief exploit on that eventful day appears to have been saving the life of a wounded British officer. In April, 1777, he was appointed chaplain of the frigate "Hancock," and that vessel being soon after captured by a British fleet, he was carried as a prisoner to Halifax. While detained there on parole he took the small-pox, from which he recovered, and on being released returned to Medford; but his health was shattered, and he died in 1781, at the age of forty-eight.[3]

BOYHOOD.

Francis Parkman, the historian, was born in what was then called Somerset Place. It is now Allston Street, and runs east and west from Bowdoin Street to Somerset Street, across the northern slope of Beacon Hill. The house, which is still standing,

[1] It is possible that Francis Parkman may have partly inherited from these Puritan ancestors the strong interest he felt in the Indians. It does not appear, however, that he ever learned their language, and it may be regarded as certain that he never preached to them.

[2] Sibley's Harvard Graduates, iii. 323–326.

[3] History of Medford, by Charles Brooks, revised and enlarged by J. M. Usher, 1886.

though much altered, is No. 4 A. It is now let in apartments, and is called "The Lyndhurst."

About 1829 or 1830, or when Francis was six or seven years old, the family removed to No. 1 Green Street, a large house known as the Gore house, having been previously the residence of Mr. Samuel Gore. It is related that the future historian, anxious to be of use in the important business of moving, and, with characteristic independence unwilling to allow others to do for him what he felt fully able to do for himself, insisted upon transporting a portion of his personal effects from the old residence to the new upon his *sled*, though, as the month was April, there was no snow upon the ground. Fortunately, the passage of the loaded sled over the bare pavement was facilitated by the fact that the whole distance traversed was down-hill.

It was soon after this that the boy, then eight years old, went to live at Medford with his maternal grandfather, Nathaniel Hall, who, having then retired from business, was carrying on a farm about a mile distant from the centre of the town. Here young Parkman attended, as a day-scholar, the boarding-school for boys and girls kept by Mr. John Angier (H. C. 1821), which for twenty years had a high reputation, and counted among its hundreds of pupils more than one who attained high distinction in after life.[1]

But there was a better school than Mr. Angier's in the immediate vicinity, — one, at least, which young Parkman liked better, and in which he proved himself an apt pupil. This was the rocky and hilly region lying mostly in Medford and its next neighbor on the north, Stoneham, now known as the Middlesex Fells. It is a tract of some four thousand acres, or six or seven square miles, in extent, which the early settlers had vainly endeavored to convert into farms. They hewed down the primeval forest; but the uneven, rocky surface and scanty soil proved rebellious to the plough, and the only traces now remaining of their attempted occupancy are apple-trees grown wild and stone walls tumbling to ruin. For at least a hundred years it has been practically "abandoned" land, and since the introduction of coal as fuel, is no longer utilized even for wood lots. The frequency of forest fires has prevented the natural renewal of the gigantic growths which once clothed its

[1] Brooks's History of Medford (1886), p. 300.

hill-tops, but it has even in its present denuded condition many features of rare loveliness.[1]

Here young Parkman delighted to spend his leisure hours, learned to trap the squirrel and the woodchuck, and began that intimate acquaintance with Nature in her ruder aspects which was to stand him in such good stead in writing his histories. Here began or was developed that love of the wild wood and of all things that live or grow in it which in his life as well as in his books was one of his strongest characteristics. Years afterward, when visiting a friend residing in the country, the thing he found most to admire in the house, that which interested him most, was a rug made of the skins of three raccoons that had been trapped on the premises. He seemed never to tire of contemplating the three tails of the wild creatures as they lay side by side on the floor, reconstructing in his mind, no doubt, their agile former owners, and following them in imagination to their secret haunts among the rocks and trees, or accompanying them on predatory excursions to neighboring hen-yards.

In the Fells he found "books in the running brooks" that he studied with more zeal than those given him to con at Mr. Angier's school, and in its stones, if not "sermons," something that interested him more than sermons would probably have done. It was here that he began the collection of minerals, to hold which his father had a cabinet made for him, which he preserved through life, and which to the day of his death stood in his house at Jamaica Plain, ready to receive any choice rarity that might turn up.

This aptitude to receive the teachings of Nature was his only resemblance to the fantastic philosopher of the Forest of Arden. There was nothing "melancholy" in his composition, either as a boy or at any time.

While thus living with his grandfather at Medford, Parkman was accustomed to pass every Sunday with his parents in Boston, — his father driving out for him on Saturday, and bringing him home in his chaise. By his own confession, this temporary change to a city life was not altogether to his taste. So soon as the horse's hoofs began to clatter on the city pavement, he would affect to

[1] Brooks's History of Medford (1886), p. 509.

look about him with the dazed and bewildered air proper to a rustic youth on his first visit to the metropolis. He wished to be taken for a country boy, unfamiliar with city sights and sounds.

After four or five years, this free country life came to an end, and young Parkman, then about twelve years old, returned to reside continuously with his parents in Green Street, becoming once more, as he had been born, a Boston boy. In the rear of the Green Street residence was a barn which had never been used. In the loft of this barn, Parkman, with several of his cousins and other boys, established a theatre, painted their own scenery, and for the most part made their own dresses, though the more elaborate costumes were sometimes borrowed from the good-natured Mr. Pelby, manager of the National Theatre. The performances took place on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, and were continued for one or two years. A play-bill, printed by F. Minot, who was one of the company, has been preserved. Its date is May 7, 1836, and the performance is announced to be for the "Benefit of Mr. F. Parkman." Two plays were to be given: in the first, "Bombastes Furioso," the part of Distafina was assigned to the beneficiary; the second was "King's Bridge Cottage," the action of which was supposed to take place during the Revolutionary War. In this the principal character, as indicated by capital letters, appears to have been VALMORE, and was to be played by F. PARKMAN, whose name is also printed in capitals. His Distafina is said to have been charming.

Not long after the date of this play-bill the family moved into the stately mansion built by Samuel Parkman, the historian's grandfather, for his own residence. It was occupied by him until his death, in 1824, and afterward by his widow, who died in 1835.

This mansion, which was numbered 5 on Bowdoin Square, stood at the western corner of Chardon Street, and marked the junction of the square with Green Street. It was an excellent specimen of the Colonial residences once so common in and around Boston, which the architects of to-day employ their best efforts to reproduce. It was a large square house, three stories in height, and built of brick, though the front was sheathed with wood, divided into panels imitating courses of stone with bevelled edges. Within was a fine entrance hall, and a noble staircase with spiral balusters. When the house was demolished, the historian caused

these balusters to be carefully removed and placed on the stairs of the house which he built for himself at Jamaica Plain. They are the sole relics of his grandfather's house that have been preserved. There was a "front yard" enclosed by a light and simple iron fence with tall square pillars at the corners. In the rear was a large, paved court-yard, and beyond that, where the land sloped rapidly to the north, was a garden, divided into terraces, one below the other, and devoted to the cultivation of fruits rather than of flowers. The flavor of a certain choice variety of Bergamot pear which grew there still lingers in the memory of those who were ever so fortunate as to taste it.

The house ceased to be the residence of the family in 1854. It was then leased to the National government, and was until 1859 the United States Court House. From this time it fell rapidly in the social scale, and after having been used for a few years for purposes little befitting its ancient dignity, was finally taken down. All the space once occupied by the house and its dependencies has long been crowded with unsightly buildings, and at the corner where the home of the Parkmans stood in the dignified retirement of its "front yard," a tall brick structure, thrust forward to the sidewalk, is in part occupied by the Salvation Army as one of its barracks.

It was about the year 1837, soon after his parents had moved into the Bowdoin Square mansion, that Parkman, then about thirteen or fourteen, became a pupil in the school kept in Chauncy Place by Mr. Gideon Thayer. Mr. Thomas Cushing (H. C. 1834) was then a teacher in the school, of which he was afterward, for many years, the principal. He is still, at the age of seventy-nine, in the enjoyment of a green old age, and writes (19 December, 1893) as follows of the new boy who came under his instruction nearly threescore years ago: —

"He was a quiet, gentle, and docile boy, who seemed to appreciate the fact that school meant an opportunity for improvement, and always gave an open and willing mind to instruction. He became, according to the ideas of the day, a good Latin and Greek scholar, and excelled in the rhetorical department. I think he early set his face in the direction of a literary life of some sort, though the idea of *historical* work was probably developed somewhat later. As a means to any sort of literary work, he no doubt saw the advantage and necessity of forming a good

English style and acquiring correctness in the use of language, and took great pains with all exercises tending to bring about this result. His compositions were especially good, and he used sometimes, as a voluntary exercise, to versify descriptions of heroic achievements that occurred in his reading. I remember that he put into verse the whole description of the Tournament in Scott's Ivanhoe, and then used it afterward in declamation, and it was so much liked that other boys used it for the same purpose. I think he might have excelled in narrative and descriptive poetry (the poetry of action) had he not early imbibed the historical idea. He often expressed to me in after life the great advantage that he received from the instruction of one of the teachers at that time connected with Chauncy Hall School in everything pertaining to the use of English and the formation of style, which he followed up at Harvard with diligent use of his opportunities with that excellent instructor, Professor Edward T. Channing."

Of the teacher above referred to by Mr. Cushing, Parkman himself wrote as follows in reply to the editor of an English publication, who had asked him for some account of the method pursued by him in acquiring the art of writing: —

"When fourteen or fifteen years old I had the good luck to be under the direction of Mr. William Russell, a teacher of excellent literary tastes and acquirements. It was his constant care to teach the boys of his class to write good and easy English. One of his methods was to give us lists of words to which we were required to furnish as many synonyms as possible, distinguishing their various shades of meaning. He also encouraged us to write translations, in prose and verse, from Virgil and Homer, insisting on idiomatic English, and criticising in his gentle way anything flowery and bombastic. At this time I read a good deal of poetry, and much of it remains *verbatim* in my memory. As it included Milton and other classics, I am confident that it has been of service to me in the matter of style. Later on, when in college and after leaving it, I read English prose classics for the express purpose of improving myself in the language. These I take to be the chief sources of such success as I have had in this particular." [1]

[1] The Art of Authorship, personally contributed by leading authors of the day. Compiled and edited by George Bainton. London, James Clark & Co., 1890.

With a memory so stored, it is a little remarkable that Parkman quoted so little poetry in his writings. Rarely, if ever, is a single line of verse to be found in his books, unless it be some doggerel rhymes dating from the period of which he happens to be writing, and illustrative of contemporaneous views of the events narrated.

The first edition of "The California and Oregon Trail" is an exception to this rule. Each chapter is headed by a poetical quotation, while a few more are scattered through the pages. By far the greater number of these mottoes and quotations are from Byron; there are several from Shakespeare, Scott, and Bryant, while there is only one each from Milton, Dryden, Goldsmith, and Shelley. There is nothing from Coleridge nor from Wordsworth. All these poetical headings of chapters and most of the other quotations are suppressed in the last, illustrated, edition.

In his novel, "Vassall Morton," also, each of the seventy-four chapters is headed by a poetical quotation, sometimes by two or three. Of these, by far the greater number (thirty-two) are from Shakespeare. Dryden and Byron are represented each by six quotations only, Molière by five, Scott and Corneille by four each, and Pope by three; while there are a multitude of single quotations, mostly from the older poets, as Montrose, Carew, the Percy Reliques, Spenser, Suckling, etc.

It would be obviously improper to deduce from the frequency or infrequency with which authors are quoted an opinion as to the relative rank of each in Parkman's estimation. The choice would depend quite as much on the aptness of the quotation as on its value as poetry. But the inquiry is interesting as showing the range of his reading; though it should be borne in mind that at the time these two books were published (1847 and 1856) some of the favorite poets of to-day were scarcely, or not at all, known. It is possible that in the interval of nine years between the publication of "The Oregon Trail" and of the novel, Parkman's admiration of Byron may have somewhat diminished. At the earlier period it was certainly enthusiastic. In the last paragraph of the nineteenth chapter of the former work, as it now stands, he speaks of himself as —

"fairly revelling in the creations of that resplendent genius, which has achieved no more signal triumph than that of half beguiling us to forget the unmanly character of its possessor."

Nor was Parkman in the habit of quoting poetry in conversation. If he ever did so the quotation was apt to be, not from the great masters of diction, but from some of those minor bards whose effusions, published in the yearly numbers of the "Farmers' Almanack," were eagerly devoured by him as a boy at his grandfather's farm. To the end of his life an ink-bottle always recalled to his memory the pathetic fate of Peter Schminck, as recorded in the pages edited by the immortal Robert B. Thomas.

Of the greater poets he made one singular and characteristic use. In the sleepless nights to which for so great a part of his life he was condemned by illness, he would beguile the weary hours, and essay to "stop thinking," by composing in his mind quaint and comical parodies, or new and absurd endings, to well-known poems. These he would sometimes repeat the next morning. Of course they were never written out; they had served their purpose, and are only to be remembered as yet another instance of the potency of a sense of humor in alleviating physical suffering or mental anguish, and helping our poor mortality to "put a *cheerful* courage on" in the face of dire calamity.

It was while a pupil at Chauncy Hall School, and especially in the two or three years preceding his going to college, that Parkman engaged with characteristic ardor in the pursuit of experimental chemistry, of which he speaks in the autobiographical fragment read before the Massachusetts Historical Society. These experiments were carried on in a laboratory which his father caused to be fitted up for him in a shed in the rear of the house then occupied by the family. As he was at the same time an active member of the "Star Theatre" Company, and was also writing voluntary exercises in poetical composition to be afterward declaimed at school, he cannot have given up the whole of his time to this favorite and health-destroying hobby. Indeed it may be doubted whether these chemical experiences had any appreciable influence in producing the state of ill-health from which he afterward suffered. They may, however, have been in some measure responsible for the too vehement reaction toward athletic pursuits by which they were soon followed.

COLLEGE.

Parkman entered Harvard College in 1840, joining the class of 1844 in its Freshman year. At that time the classes on entering were separated into three "Divisions," first, second, and third, according to the relative standing of each student in Latin and Greek. The First Division was the lowest in rank, and the Third the highest. A good deal of importance was attached by the students to these Divisions, as indications of rank in scholarship. Parkman on entering was assigned to the Second Division, but was subsequently promoted to the Third.

In the Freshman year he "chummed" with his classmate, Benjamin Apthorp Gould, in No. 9 Holworthy Hall. At the public dinner given to Dr. Gould in Boston, on his return from South America, 6 May, 1885, Parkman was present, and being called upon for a speech, gave a humorous account of this "chumship," which, "though its beginnings," he said "were a little breezy, was the foundation and beginning of a life-long friendship." "The average scholarship of the two chums," he claimed, "was exceedingly creditable;" Gould by his superior attainments in mathematics making up for his own deficiencies in that department of study. In recounting his failure at the final examination before Professor Peirce and a committee, he assigned as the cause of his discomfiture the fact that he had not opened his algebra for six months, having devoted to rifle-shooting the time which he was expected to devote to mathematics.[1]

This neglect of a study for which he had no predilection was very characteristic. "Whatever he liked," says a relative, who was also a classmate,[2] "he would take hold of with the utmost energy; what he did not like, he would not touch."

His scholarship did not need to be averaged with that of any one else in order to entitle him to one of those testimonials provided by the will of Governor Edward Hopkins to be given to deserving students "*pro insigni in studiis diligentia.*" He received one of these "*Deturs*," as they are called, at the usual distribution in the first term of the Sophomore year (23 November, 1841).

[1] Boston Daily Advertiser, 7 May, 1885.

[2] George Francis Parkman.

When, in the Sophomore year, the class came under the instruction of Professor Channing, and began to write exercises in English composition, it was soon reported among his classmates that Parkman 2d[1] was taking high rank in that department, and was getting excellent marks for his themes; so that, when in the second term of the Sophomore year the first assignment of "parts" was made to the Class of 1844, no surprise was felt that the name of Francis Parkman was in the list of the "First Eight." His part in this first exhibition (13 July, 1842) was an English version, "Speech of an Insurgent Plebeian," from Machiavelli's "History of Florence," — a subject which was probably much to his taste. He spoke a year later at the exhibition of July 12, 1843, at which he was assigned a Dissertation, the subject being, "Is a man in advance of his age fitted for his age?"

His "chumship" with Gould was dissolved by mutual consent at the end of their first year of college life. In the Sophomore year he roomed, as appears by the College Catalogue, at the house of Mrs. Ayer, at the corner of Garden Street and the Appian Way. In the Junior year he occupied No. 24 Massachusetts Hall, and in the Senior year, No. 21 in the same building, in both without a companion. Though rather fond of calling upon his classmates, with whom he was always popular, he rarely asked them to visit him in return. One reason probably was that he was very little in his own room except at night, for the purpose of sleeping. His constant craving for bodily exercise kept him out of doors or at the gymnasium the greater part of the day. Moreover, as is now known, he had already begun to read such books as he thought suited to help him toward the attainment of his great object, already well outlined in his mind. He did not care to have these secret studies interrupted by chance callers, who might also discover in his room some traces of the "lucubrations" which, he says, he pursued at this time "with a pernicious intensity, keeping his plans and purposes to himself while passing among his companions as an outspoken fellow."[2]

His boarding-place during the greater part of his College course was at Mrs. Schutte's, a lady who kept an excellent table at what

[1] He was always Parkman 2d, his cousin, George Francis Parkman, being Parkman 1st.

[2] Tributes of the Massachusetts Historical Society, p. 6.

was thought a very moderate price even in those days. The company was numerous, comprising representatives of all the classes. Much lively and interesting talk went on there, at and after meals, and not a little good-natured chaffing. Almost all the guests had some sobriquet conferred upon them, more or less indicative of their characters, or of some peculiarity of appearance or manner. Some of these, from their happy appropriateness, soon spread beyond the coterie where they originated, and have even clung to their recipients through life. Such was not the case with that bestowed upon Parkman. From being oftener an amused listener to the conversation than an active participant in it, he was called, *lucus a non lucendo*, "The Loquacious," a title so absurdly inappropriate that his College friends to-day recall it with difficulty. Far from being the unsocial character this ironical nickname would imply, Parkman keenly enjoyed the society of his fellow-students. Never boisterous in his mirth, he was by no means averse to taking part in merrymakings and festivities. He was catholic in his likings, and had already begun to develop that keen insight into character which is one of the striking features of his historical writings. He could penetrate within the outer covering of mannerisms and affectations, and see the man himself. He enjoyed with equal zest the wild exuberance of William Morris Hunt, and the placid philosophy of George Blankern Cary. He took a lively interest in all that went on in College, and was always ready to do his share in protesting against abuses and redressing wrongs. An instance of this is recorded in the contemporary journal of a classmate. At one time, in the Sophomore year, the Latin Professor, Dr. Beck, adopted the arbitrary and novel practice of calling the roll in his recitation-room at precisely the hour, instead of five minutes after, as had been the immemorial custom, and also of marking as absent all who simply came late. Parkman thereupon drew up a memorial, remonstrating against the innovation, obtained the signatures of the principal members of the class, and sent it to the Faculty. The remonstrance had the desired effect, though President Quincy, with his accustomed tact, declined to lay the matter before the Faculty, but communicated it privately to the Professor.

At the end of the Freshman year Parkman became a member of the "Institute of 1770," then a purely literary and debating society.

At each fortnightly meeting two lecturers and four debaters were appointed for the meeting next ensuing. The lecturers were free to choose their own topic; the debaters had a question given them to discuss, two in the affirmative and two in the negative. When it became Parkman's turn to lecture, he entertained the Society, according to the report of the Secretary, with "a witty production, having for its subject 'The Puritans,' wherein he gave us in a very original and humorous style the front, flank, and rear of their offending." The question for discussion on the evening when he was one of the "regular debaters" was, "Does attendance on theatrical exhibitions have a bad effect on the mind and morals?" and he with another was appointed to maintain the affirmative, which he accordingly did, in opening the debate. "Then," as the Secretary reports, "'changing sides, as a lawyer knows how,' he supported the contrary opinion." The question was decided in the affirmative, ten to eight. He often, also, took part in the "general debate," when the subject was one that interested him. He spoke voluntarily on the question, "Whether the Republic of the United States is likely to continue." It does not clearly appear from the Secretary's report on which side he argued upon this occasion, but it is satisfactory to note that the question was decided in the affirmative.

Other college societies of which he was a member were the Hasty Pudding Club, of which he was successively Vice-President and President, and the Harvard Natural History Society, of which he was Corresponding and Recording Secretary, and Curator of Mineralogy. He was also a member of the mysterious and short-lived *P. T. Δ.*, in which the cognomen given him, according to the custom in that body, was "The Dominie." He was also chosen orator of this society. He was, besides, one of that informal club, of which he gave so delightful an account in the memoir of its founder and governing spirit, his classmate George B. Cary, which he wrote for the latter's mother soon after Cary's death in 1846.

"A sort of society was formed," he says, "entitled by its members the C. C., but popularly, though most unjustly, known in the class as the Lemonade Club. It was not strictly a club, however, as it had no laws, no organization, and no stated times of meeting. The members were Cary, Clarke, Hale, F. Parkman, Perry, Snow, Treadwell, and

afterward, Dwight. The meetings usually took place once a fortnight, when the members read such compositions of their own as they had felt the inclination to prepare, and the evening's entertainment concluded with a supper, which at first was anything but sumptuous, though in this respect a considerable change afterward took place."

Another member, the late Horatio J. Perry, for many years Secretary of Legation at Madrid, in the Reminiscences which to the great regret of his friends he left unfinished, also speaks of the C. C., and for the first time divulges the meaning of those mystic letters. They stood for the harmless word Chit-Chat. The secret had been well kept for fifty years. Of Parkman's participation in its voluntary exercises, Perry says he —

"even then showed symptoms of 'Injuns on the brain.' His tales of border life, his wampum, scalps, and birch-bark were unsurpassed by anything in Cooper."

No doubt Parkman, like his friend Perry, was an enthusiastic reader of Cooper's Indian tales, then at the height of their popularity. But it was no boyish freak which made him seem to have set up their dusky heroes as models for imitation. He was already training himself for expeditions into the wilderness, and preparing to make an exhaustive study of the Aborigines by living among them in their native haunts. As a part of this preparation he was in the habit, while in College, of taking long walks, going always at so rapid a pace that it was difficult to keep up with him. This manner of walking became habitual to him, and he retained it to the last. Long years afterward, when crippled by disease and needing two canes to support his steps, he might often be seen in the streets of Boston, walking rapidly for a short distance, then suddenly stopping, wheeling round, and propping himself against the wall of a house, to give a moment's repose to his enfeebled knee. Whatever he did, he must do it with all his might. He could not saunter, he could not creep; he must move rapidly, or stand still.

His most frequent companion in these college walks was his classmate and life-long friend, Daniel Denison Slade, who shared his enthusiasm for the woods and the Indians, earning thereby the sobriquet of "The Chieftain," and whose length of limb admirably fitted him for pedestrianism. Slade, with praiseworthy diligence,

through the whole College course, almost from the beginning, kept a diary, selected extracts from which he has frequently read at Class meetings, greatly to the entertainment of his audience. In this diary he sometimes records, all too briefly, the mere fact that on such a day he walked with Parkman, or rowed with him on Fresh Pond; at other times he mentions, with more or less fulness, the places visited, and incidents that occurred by the way. In the summer vacations these walks gave place to long excursions or journeys. The first of these recorded took place at the end of the Freshman year, in the months of July and August, 1841. Of this, Slade wrote an account, in a separate booklet, with more amplitude than he was accustomed to use in his diary. It was, however, left unfinished, coming to an abrupt end on the twelfth day of the trip. Parkman himself also kept a diary of this journey.

Starting from Boston on the morning of 19 July, 1841, the pair proceeded by the Eastern Railroad to Portsmouth, N. H., which was as far as a railroad could take them in those early days, and thence made their way, by stage, by wagon, or on foot, through the White Mountains to the Notch, where Parkman had an adventure which came near costing him his life.

Stimulated merely by curiosity and the ambition to succeed where others had failed, he ascended the ravine excavated by the avalanche which had caused the famous catastrophe of the Willey House, surmounting precipices which had been pronounced impracticable, and at last finding himself in a position where it seemed equally impossible to go higher or to come down. He details at some length, in his journal, the means he took to extricate himself from this perilous situation. They are somewhat difficult to understand by one not familiar with the spot; but it is evident that had he not, even then, at the age of seventeen, possessed a rare degree of nerve, coolness, and courage, he could never have accomplished the feat, and that a violent and frightful death would have cut short his career. The qualities displayed in this boyish and foolhardy adventure go far to explain his triumphs over obstacles of every kind in after life.[1]

[1] In the Knickerbocker Magazine for April, 1845, was published a "Sketch," entitled the "Scalp-Hunter," in which the final scene takes place in the identical locality of Parkman's adventure. Though it is unsigned, there is strong internal evidence that Parkman was the author.

After making the ascent of Mt. Washington and visiting Franconia, which Parkman incidentally says he had already seen three years before, the travellers proceeded by stage to Colebrook, N. H., on the Connecticut River, and thence on foot in an easterly direction, through the recently discovered Dixville Notch, and across the State of New Hampshire to the mouth of the Magalloway River, where it empties into Lake Umbagog. Here they engaged a guide, for they were now in a wilderness untrodden save by the foot of the hunter; and by boat and "portage," toilsome marches through dense woods, fording streams and plunging through swamps and "guzzles," camping in the open air, and subsisting chiefly on the superb trout for which the Magalloway is famous, and such game as Parkman could shoot with the "heavy gun" he carried, they arrived, on the seventeenth day after leaving home, at the junction of the Little Magalloway with the Magalloway proper. This was about thirty miles above the place where they had first struck the main river, and was the northern limit of their journey. Here, their supply of bread being nearly exhausted, and having no blankets, they decided to give up a half-formed project of pushing on to Canada, and to return home. This they did, reaching Boston on the 13th of August, after an absence of nearly a month. "And a joyous month it has been," says Parkman, in concluding his record of it, "though somewhat toilsome. May I soon pass another as pleasantly." Previously, on first turning his footsteps homeward, he had said: "I regard this journey but as the beginning of greater things, and as merely prefatory to longer wanderings."

During the winter vacation of the Sophomore year, Slade records a walk with Parkman "down Long Wharf and about Fort Hill," in Boston, and longer excursions to Roxbury and Dorchester, and, on another occasion, "over Prospect Hill, and in the direction of Medford."

In the second term of the Sophomore year (7 May, 1842), on a Saturday, which was then always a half-holiday, the two friends walked together from Cambridge, Parkman carrying a gun and a pistol, "to Medford and the woods back of the town," dined at Spot Pond on crackers, and practised shooting at small birds and "one poor chip-squirrel," which Parkman's bullet, striking on its nose, traversed from end to end.

In the vacation at the end of the Sophomore year (July and

August, 1842) Parkman made another excursion to the Magalloway with a different companion, Mr. Henry Orne White, of the Class of 1843, also an ardent lover of the woods, with a special fondness for trout fishing. Parkman took with him his favorite rifle "Satan," well remembered by his classmates, for which he had an affection such as is usually bestowed only on living creatures. On this journey, also, he kept a journal, which has been preserved.

The two travellers made their approach to the river which was their ultimate destination by way of Albany, Lake George, — where they remained a week, thoroughly exploring the lake in an open boat, — Ticonderoga, and by Lake Champlain, to Burlington, Vt., whence they proceeded on foot and by stage to Stanstead, in Canada. Then turning again southward, they went, partly on foot and partly by wagon, to the lakes of the Connecticut, and there, hiring a guide, plunged through the wilderness till they struck the Little Magalloway, which they descended to its junction with the main stream, at the point where Parkman and Slade had made their northernmost camp on the journey of the previous year. Their descent of the main stream, whose length Parkman now traversed for the third time, was marked by a succession of serio-comic adventures, which he has graphically and humorously described in an article contributed by him to Harper's Magazine, November, 1864, entitled "Exploring the Magalloway." In it the route followed and the main incidents are precisely the same as in the journal, but the name of his fellow-traveller, as well as that of the guide, is changed; and while the real guide, whose name was Abbot, resembles the Gookin of the Magazine in some particulars, he differs diametrically from him in others.

On leaving the Magalloway, the travellers returned home by the now familiar route through the Dixville Notch, Colebrook, Littleton, etc., the trip having occupied, as that of the previous year, about a month.[1]

[1] It was on this journey that Parkman saw the remains of Fort William Henry, as he describes them in "Montcalm and Wolfe," i. 492, and as mentioned on page 493, note 2. It was perhaps also this journey that he refers to in a note on page 258 of volume ii. of "Montcalm and Wolfe," where he says: "I once, when a college student, followed on foot the route of Rogers from Lake Memphremagog to the Connecticut."

In the journals of both excursions Parkman shows that he took a lively interest in the people he met, whether fellow-travellers or residents. His keen appreciation of character, the vein of humor which runs through all the narrative, and the entire absence of the grandiloquence or fine writing which one might expect from a Sophomore, make them extremely pleasant reading. His style was already admirable.

In the winter vacation of the Junior year, in February, 1843, Slade records in his diary that Parkman and he made a visit to their classmates, Hale and Perry, at Keene, N. H. It was doubtless with recollections of this visit, and of others, in his mind that, in the last published volume of his histories, Parkman speaks of Keene as "a town noted in rural New England for kindly hospitality, culture without pretence, and good-breeding without conventionality.[1] His two classmates were not the only acquaintances he had in this delightful New Hampshire town. Two years before, while with Slade in the White Mountains, he had fallen in with a lively party of travellers from this place, and one young lady in particular had charmed him by the "laughing philosophy" with which she had taken "a ducking" in his company while passing through the Notch in the stage and in a pouring rain. Still more was he pleased by the "strength and spirit and good-humor" she had shown in the ascent of Mount Washington. With this lady, who afterward married a distinguished citizen of her native State, Parkman kept up a life-long friendship.

In the summer vacation at the end of the Junior year, July and August, 1843, Parkman probably made another excursion into the woods, but no record of it has been preserved. Perhaps it was at this time that he followed on foot the route of the ranger Rogers from Lake Memphremagog to the Connecticut.

It was in Parkman's Junior year that a gymnasium was first provided by the Faculty for the use of the students. It was in a wooden building of no great size, and was under the superintendence of Mr. T. Belcher Kay, a pugilist and popular teacher of the art of self-defence, but who knew little or nothing of scientific training as now understood. It was provided with such apparatus as was then common, and the young men, with virtually no

[1] A Half Century of Conflict, ii. 230. See also Mr. George S. Hale's address at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 21 November, 1893.

one to direct or guide them, were allowed to make such use as they pleased of parallel bars, lifting machines, and other appliances. Parkman naturally availed himself with eagerness of this opportunity of increasing his muscular development, now become his favorite hobby. He was a constant attendant at the gymnasium, took boxing-lessons, and emulated the foremost in trials of strength and endurance. The strain was too great for a constitution not naturally robust, and in the first term of his Senior year he was obliged to suspend for a time his college studies, and seek relaxation and relief in an ocean voyage. On Thanksgiving Day, November, 1843, he embarked for Europe in a sailing vessel, "The Nautilus," in which he had a very stormy and uncomfortable passage. He visited Italy, Sicily, Switzerland, France, England, and Scotland, travelled among the Apennines with his classmate, William M. Hunt, met at Naples the Rev. Theodore Parker, and at Rome spent a few days "in retreat" at a convent of Passionist Fathers. This inside view of the Roman Catholic priesthood and of the workings of the clerical machinery were to help him to portray some of the chief actors in his projected histories. He wrote an account of this adventure, which was published in August, 1890, in Harper's Magazine, under the title "A Convent in Rome."

He returned, by steamer, from this first visit to Europe, after an absence of seven months, and was back at Cambridge 20 June, 1844, in time to take part in the closing exercises of the year, Class Day, 11 July, and the Senior's farewell supper at "Porter's" the same evening.

In the latter part of the Senior year, the Class Secretary, as was then the custom, provided a large book in which each member of the class was invited to inscribe his name and date of birth, together with such details of his personal history as he chose to communicate, six pages being allotted to each for that purpose. Very few did more than to write their names, with date and place of birth. Parkman's entry was as follows, and may be thought characteristic. It is written in a large, bold hand: —

FRANK PARKMAN,
Born in Boston, Mass.
Sept. 16th 1823.
Died _____

Married

The word "Married" appears to have been an afterthought, and to have been written with another pen.

The usual six weeks' vacation still intervened between the virtual end of the College year and the Commencement of the graduating class. This interval Parkman utilized in making another of the summer excursions now become habitual. On the seventh of August, his classmate Slade, who was spending the summer on a farm near Greenfield, Massachusetts, was surprised by a visit from him. He had been, he said, on a foot expedition among the mountains in the western part of Massachusetts, searching out the trails of the French and Indians as they came down from Canada in the early raids upon the frontier settlements.

He returned from this excursion in time to receive his degree of A. B. "in course," and to speak his part in the Commencement exercises on 28 August, 1844. His part at Commencement was a Disquisition, while at the July Exhibition of the previous year he had been assigned a Dissertation. The Disquisition standing lower in the scale of academical honors than the Dissertation, this was supposed to indicate a corresponding loss of rank, which might have been caused in part by too much devotion to rifle-shooting, but was doubtless chiefly owing to illness and the enforced absence from Cambridge which it occasioned. The subject of his Commencement part, "Romance in America," was one that must have suited him. The word "*History*," printed in Italics, below his name in the "Order of Exercises," indicated, according to the custom of the day, that he had attained "high distinction" in that department; while the word "Rhetoric," similarly placed, but in Roman characters, showed that in that branch of study he had done all that was required, but no more. There was prophecy in this distinction. Though no longer among the first eight, he was, at all events, among the first twenty of the class in rank, and was made, accordingly, a member of the *Φ B K*.

THE LAW SCHOOL.

Two days after graduating at Harvard College — namely, 30 August, 1844 — Parkman entered his name as a student in the school of Law attached to the University, and then known as the

"Dane Law School." He did this partly to please his father, and partly because he thought some knowledge of legal principles would not be amiss in making his historical researches, and that the mental training involved would be a decided advantage. Neither then nor at any time did he propose to adopt the legal profession as a career.

During the first year of his membership he roomed at No. 7 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, where he is reported to have injured his health, and especially his sight, by rising very early and studying by candle-light, and often without a fire. It may be surmised that these matutinal studies were not exclusively confined to his legal text-books. Indeed it is now known that he had at that time entered earnestly upon a course of general history, and another of Indian history and ethnology, and was also diligently studying the models of English style.

In the succeeding year his residence is given in the University catalogue as "Boston," and during a part of the time at least his state of health was such that he was obliged to have his law books read to him as he lay in bed in his father's house.

On 16 January, 1846, the third term of his apprenticeship to the Law came to an end. He had done all that was required, according to the existing regulations, to entitle him to the degree of Bachelor of Laws, which he accordingly received at the following Commencement. He was also fully qualified for admission to the Bar, had he chosen to apply for it, but he never did.

It was probably while he was a member of the Law School that the following incidents occurred, as related by Mr. Thomas Cushing in the letter already quoted: —

"I do not remember the year, but it must have been in a college vacation, or soon after graduation, that we had a very good Circus Company passing the winter in Boston, the Director of which also gave instruction in horsemanship. Meeting Parkman one day, he told me that he was taking lessons there, and suggested to me to join him. I did so, and we had very pleasant times together. He was evidently aiming to become a *thorough* horseman,[1] and used to practise such things as jumping on and off at full speed, etc., which I did not try, having a

[1] In a note to the above, Mr. Cushing adds: "No doubt Parkman had in mind his Indian Expedition, which occurred soon after."

wife and family at the time. A company of us sometimes rode out in the neighborhood, presenting rather a gay appearance, mounted on horses of wonderful colors."

It was about this time also that he was in the habit of taking walks about Boston with his classmate Edmund Dwight, — walks which usually ended with a cup of coffee at Mrs. Haven's celebrated shop in School Street. He appeared to be in fair health, but seemed to have something on his mind, — was "brooding," doubtless, on his historical plans, — and would from time to time rouse himself from a fit of abstraction with a characteristic gesture and shake of the head.

RELATIONS WITH HARVARD COLLEGE AFTER GRADUATION.

With the completion of the prescribed course at the Law School Parkman's connection with the University as a student came to an end. But his relations with his *Alma Mater* by no means ceased. Officially or unofficially they continued as long as his life lasted.

At Commencement, 18 July, 1868, he was elected for the term of six years as one of the Overseers, but held the position less than three years, resigning 29 May, 1871.

He had shortly before been made Professor of Horticulture, and was the first to hold that professorship in the University. He retained it, however, only about a year, resigning in 1872.

In 1874 he was again nominated as a candidate for Overseer, and was chosen by a very large majority for the three-years term, but served for two years only, resigning in 1876.

In 1875 he was chosen one of the Fellows of the Corporation, and served the College in that capacity for thirteen years, resigning in 1888.

How faithfully he performed the duties which devolved upon him in the several offices which he held under or as a part of the College government, only those who were co-workers with him are competent to testify. President Eliot, at the commemorative service in Sanders Theatre, 6 December, 1893, said that, while serving as one of the Fellows, Parkman "was always punctual, never absent from the meetings, and if late, he always apologized;"

also, that he "advocated the establishment of a course in oral discussion, and that the present College course known as English 6 is the result of his labor."

In 1889 the College gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

His long, willing, and faithful service was not the only evidence Parkman gave of his devoted attachment to the University, or, as his conservative spirit made him prefer to call it, the College. "Montcalm and Wolfe," being the seventh and concluding part of his great historical work, published in 1884, bore the following dedication: —

TO
HARVARD COLLEGE,
THE ALMA MATER UNDER WHOSE INFLUENCE THE
PURPOSE OF WRITING IT WAS CONCEIVED,
THIS BOOK
IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

Finally he bequeathed, in the words of his will, "all my printed books relating to History, Voyages, or Travels, and also all my printed books in Greek or Latin, and all my manuscript maps, to the President and Fellows of Harvard College."

RELATIONS WITH THE CLASS OF 1844 AFTER GRADUATION.

If Francis Parkman loved his College, he loved no less, or even more, his Class, the band of foster-brothers who had shared with him the nurturing care of their common *Alma Mater*. If he dedicated one of his books to the College, he had already, fifteen years earlier, inscribed another to his classmates. "The Discovery of the Great West," being Part Third of the series of historical narratives, has this dedication: —

TO THE CLASS OF 1844,
HARVARD COLLEGE,
THIS BOOK IS CORDIALLY DEDICATED
BY ONE OF THEIR NUMBER.

The year of its publication, 1869, was that in which the Class celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of their graduation.

Parkman had a large share of what, half a century ago, was called class spirit, or class feeling, — a sentiment whose most conspicuous manifestation was the good opinion which the members of a College class held, not so much of themselves, as of each other. It was a sentiment which impelled all to take a brotherly interest in each, to share each other's triumphs, to extend a helping hand to the unsuccessful, and animated each and all with the ambition to deserve well of the Class, of the College, and the country. Far distant be the day when such a spirit shall no longer exist in Harvard College.

Animated with this spirit, he was a very regular attendant at the Class-meetings which, since 1864, the twentieth anniversary, have been held every Commencement Day at Cambridge, in one or another of the College buildings, usually in Holworthy. No one enjoyed them more than he. Very cordial in his greetings to those present, whose College nicknames he never failed to remember, he was eager in his inquiries about the absent. His great delight was in recalling the undergraduate days, and in relating humorous anecdotes of his own and others' experiences. He took a lively interest in any matter which might come up for discussion, was one of the original subscribers to the Class Fund, and one of the first to contribute his photograph to the Class Album.

He was always very solicitous that the Class should bear an honorable part in any worthy scheme in which the College was interested. At the meeting on Commencement Day, 1869, he strongly urged the claims of the "Class Subscription Fund," with the result that over eighteen hundred dollars was at once obtained from those present, while a considerable sum in addition was subscribed later. When, after its heavy losses by the great Boston fire in 1872, the College asked for pecuniary aid, Parkman drew up and headed with a very generous contribution a supplementary appeal, specially addressed to the Class. The Class responded with subscriptions amounting to more than two thousand dollars.

At the Class-meeting on Commencement Day, 1874, when for the first time the Alumni dinner took place in the Memorial Building, he first suggested that the Class should pledge itself to give a stained-glass window for the decoration and enrichment of the new hall, and, later, served as one of the volunteer committee to carry that purpose into effect. When it became necessary to select

two historical personages to be portrayed in the window, his choice of "the Chevalier Bayard, as representing Chivalry and Loyalty to Duty — and Christopher Columbus, as typifying Faith, or Perseverance against obstacles," was at once ratified by the committee. It is easy to understand Parkman's selection. Bayard and Columbus were favorite heroes with him, and he had a large share of the characteristic virtues he ascribed to each.

This is not the place to record all the difficulties and disappointments which delayed for five years the execution of a purpose so enthusiastically begun, nor how it happened that the figures of Chaucer and Dante, as they now appear in the window, came to be substituted for those originally chosen. This change was a great disappointment to Parkman, but he accepted it cheerfully, when it seemed to be unavoidable, and his interest in the window suffered no abatement. He continued to be an active member of the committee, attending all its meetings, and giving valuable advice and assistance in the composition of the Latin inscription, and in the choice of the minor emblematical and decorative portions of the design.

The completed window was first shown to the public, in its place in the Hall, on Commencement Day, 25 June, 1879. Parkman, who as an officer of the College had the privilege of an earlier private view, wrote to the Class Secretary a few days before (19 June, 1879): "I have seen the window, and like it very much. It will do credit, I think, to 1844."

His disappointment at the failure of *his* Class to be the first to offer a window was mitigated by the fact that the Class which had been so fortunate as to gain the precedence in that respect had not been able to secure priority in the completion of their gift, and that the two windows were first seen by the public on the same day and side by side. There was also a further consolation. In the same note to the Secretary, and still speaking of the window, Parkman says: "Comparisons are odious; but between ourselves, I think that though darker than its neighbor, it shines in comparison with it."

In the same note he adds: "I trust I shall be able to look in at the Class-meeting. It would be much pleasanter than being stuck behind a rail, in a dress coat and white choker."

This was a playful allusion to one of his duties as a Fellow of

the Corporation, namely, that of attending, in evening dress, the exercises of the graduating class. He had already frequently regretted, as one of the drawbacks of the new dignity to which he had been chosen in 1875, that it "would oblige him to give only about fifteen minutes, instead of three hours, to the annual Class-meeting, while it might sometimes prevent his coming at all."

In 1878 Parkman was a contributor to the Dr. James Walker memorial, and in 1888 one of the signers of a letter, accompanied by a gift, addressed by members of the Class to Professor Lovering on his completion of fifty years' service as Professor in the College.

In 1885, May 6, as before mentioned, he was present at the complimentary dinner in honor of his classmate Gould. He seemed then in excellent health and spirits, and made a felicitous and humorous speech. He was also one of the signers of the letter of invitation previously addressed to Dr. Gould.

At the Class-meeting held on Commencement Day, 1889, Parkman was present, but, with characteristic modesty and reticence, said nothing to his classmates of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him on that day by the College. Always too much, perhaps, in the habit of keeping closely to their own room at Commencement, they knew nothing of the honor conferred upon their associate, and reflectively upon themselves, until they learned it from the newspapers. This proved to be the last meeting of the Class which Parkman attended.

In 1891 he was one of a committee appointed to prepare resolutions on the death of a classmate, Horatio J. Perry, and was a contributor to the memorial tablet to General Wild.

At Commencement, 1891, the Class Secretary received from him the following note: —

MY DEAR WHEELWRIGHT, — I wish I could come; but Holworthy stairs are too much for me. Remember me cordially to the fellows.

Yours ever,

PARKMAN 2D.

JAMAICA PLAIN, 18 June.

The allusion to Holworthy stairs is explained by the following note, addressed, a month previously, to the Chairman of the committee having in charge the Annual Unitarian Festival: —

Jamaica Plain, May 18, 1891.

My dear Sir, — Thank you cordially for your kind invitation to the Unitarian Festival. I wish with all my heart that I were able to come; but for some years I have been prevented from attending any social entertainments by "arthritis" in both knees, which has kept me a good part of the time a prisoner, — a consequence, as the infallible medical faculty say, of hereditary gout; so that I can only send my good wishes to the representatives of liberal thought in religion.

Yours very truly,

Henry H. Edes, Esq. F. Parkman.

Again, in 1892, replying to the notice of the Class-meeting which was to be held 29 June, he writes: —

Jamaica Plain, 22 June.

Dear Wheelwright, — Your circular of June 20 has come. My knees are not equal to the climb to 7 Holworthy, and I am going to Portsmouth on the 28th, so I must lose the Class-meeting. Please give my regrets and kind remembrance to the fellows, and tell those who are still bachelors to marry at once and raise up sons and daughters to serve the country.

Yours very truly, Parkman 2d.

He was very fond of giving the advice he sends to his classmates, and was an enthusiastic advocate of early marriages and large families, — matters in which so many of his own ancestors had set excellent examples.

At the Class-meeting at Commencement, 28 June, 1893, he was still unable to be present, and omitted sending his customary message to the Class. He was then recovering from the effects of a severe attack of pleurisy which had nearly proved fatal in the previous autumn, and from another malady which had followed a few months later, and which had confined him for a time to his chair. At this meeting, in view of the approaching Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the graduation of the Class, when, according to custom, some one of its members would probably be called upon for a speech at the Commencement dinner, it was —

"*Voted*, *unanimously*, That Francis Parkman be the speaker for the Class on its fiftieth anniversary, with Leverett Saltonstall as substitute, and that the Class Secretary notify them of their election."

The Secretary having fulfilled his instructions, received from Parkman the following reply, dated at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 15 September, 1893, — the eve of his seventieth birthday:

DEAR NED, — I will try to accept the Class golden-wedding job; and if I find that it can't be done, will give you timely notice.

F. P.

This was Parkman's last communication to the Class of 1844. Within two months after he wrote it, his anticipations and those of his classmates in regard to their golden anniversary were frustrated by his death.

"THE OREGON TRAIL" — "PONTIAC" — "VASSALL MORTON."

On 28 May, 1846, two months to a day after leaving the Law School, Parkman set out from St. Louis, accompanied by his cousin, Quincy A. Shaw, on their now famous journey to the Rocky Mountains. They called it a "tour of curiosity and amusement," but for Parkman it had a hidden and serious purpose. It was to be a part of his preparation for writing the history he proposed to undertake. He felt it necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the Indian, — not of the Indian as he still lingered, a degraded remnant, among the scenes of his ancient renown, but as he was when his effective alliance was sought by a Montcalm or a Wolfe. Such Indians there still were in the Far West. Another purpose was to give rest to his eyes, the weakness of sight which had interrupted his studies in College having again declared itself.

He was fortunate in falling in with a band, or wandering village, of the Dakota or Sioux, who were thorough savages.

"Neither their manners nor their ideas were in the slightest degree modified by contact with civilization. . . . They fought with the weapons that their fathers fought with, and wore the same garments of skins. They were living representatives of the 'stone age;' for though their lances and arrows were tipped with iron procured from the traders, they still used the rude stone mallet of the primeval world." [1]

With this band he was domesticated for several weeks, living as one of the family in the lodge of a principal chief, and having

[1] The Oregon Trail, p. 204.

unusual opportunities for observation. He had one great disappointment. A warlike expedition against the Snakes, their hereditary foes, in which all the bands of the Dakota were to engage, to the number of a thousand warriors, was abandoned after interminable and characteristic delays and vacillation; and he was obliged to content himself with joining, instead, a peaceful excursion beyond the Black Hills for the purpose of hunting the buffalo and for cutting lodge-poles. The exchange was perhaps, on the whole, a fortunate one. On the war-path there are scalps to be lost as well as taken.

It was not the Indian alone that he had an opportunity of studying on this journey. He became familiar with the life of the hunter, the trapper, the Canadian voyageur, — the mongrel race, half Indian, half white man, fair representatives of those who, under similar names and of the same lineage, played their part in the events he proposed to chronicle. He even had an opportunity of seeing the march through the wilderness of organized military bodies. He met on the return journey several detachments of United States troops on their way to take part in the Mexican War. They were only volunteers, but in their lax discipline and their want of true martial bearing did not probably differ much from the raw levies sent by Massachusetts to the invasion of Canada or the siege of Louisbourg.

The knowledge gained on this journey was invaluable to Parkman. It enabled him to make the Indian in his pages a living being, and to infuse a new meaning and actuality into the stories of border warfare. He makes constant reference to it in his subsequent works, and it is evident that in the narrative of it which he published not the half of what it had taught him was told.

The two travellers reached Boston, on their return, in October, 1846, having been absent about five months. Parkman's health had suffered severely during the journey; and now that he had no longer the stimulus of the chase and of a life of constant activity in the open air, and when the necessity of keeping a bold face in the presence of savage companions had ceased, he broke down completely. It was at a water-cure establishment at Brattleborough, Vermont, to which he had gone to recuperate, that he dictated a record of the expedition to the companion who had shared with him its perils and excitements. The narrative was first issued as

a serial in the "Knickerbocker Magazine," the first instalment appearing in February, 1847, under the title, "The Oregon Trail, or a Summer Journey out of Bounds. By a Bostonian." In the next number, however, the pseudonym is dropped, and the real name of the author takes its place. Republished in book form in 1849, it has proved one of the most popular tales of travel ever written, and has passed through several editions. The ninth, published in 1892, is illustrated by Mr. Frederic Remington. Parkman was greatly pleased with these illustrations. He says, in his preface, the book "has found a powerful helper in the pencil of Mr. Remington, whose pictures are as full of truth as of spirit, for they are the work of one who knew the prairies and the mountains before irresistible commonplace had subdued them." They certainly surpass in artistic merit the paintings of Catlin, and even the lithographs — some of them colored — with which Charles Bodmer illustrated the "Travels of Prince Maximilian de Wied," to which Parkman also gave high praise for their fidelity to nature.[1]

"The Oregon Trail" was not, perhaps, the first of Parkman's contributions to the Knickerbocker Magazine, In the twenty-fifth volume of that excellent periodical, in the issues for March and April, 1845, are two papers, "The Ranger's Adventure, by a New Contributor," and "The Scalp-Hunter, a Semi-Historical Sketch," both unsigned, which from internal evidence seem very probably to have been written by him.

In the year before the publication of the Oregon Trail as a separate book, — that is, in 1848, — he began the composition of the "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac." Under what difficulties, and in spite of what obstacles this task was accomplished, he has himself related in his preface to the book, and in the autobiographical fragment which was read to the Massachusetts Historical Society at the Special Meeting, 21 November, 1893. In the latter he makes graceful mention of the assistance given by that "half of humanity," which he felt it needless to specify. Fortunate was it for him that the like aid was never wanting to him through life.

After two years and a half the book was completed, and at once took its place among the most popular of histories. It was in a

[1] A Half Century of Conflict, i. 333; ii. 38–41.

measure the accomplishment of Parkman's original design of writing a narrative of the old French war, since a brief but graphic account of that struggle serves as an introduction to the story of the Indian hero, which in itself is a sequel to the completed series of histories.

The decade following the year 1849 was an eventful one in the life of the historian. During that period he finished and published, in 1851, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," his first historical work. In that interval, also, he was married, 13 May, 1850, to Catherine Scollay, daughter of Dr. Jacob Bigelow of Boston, and had three children born to him, one of whom, his only son, died in 1857, at the age of less than two years. His wife also died, after only eight years of married life. In these years also occurred what he has called the "two crises of his disorder," one at the end of 1853, the other in 1858, as well as an effusion of water on the left knee in the autumn of 1851, involving a close confinement of two years, and permanently weakening the joint. It was in the midst of this critical stage of his malady that he wrote and published, in 1856, his only work of fiction, "Vassall Morton." It was far from having the success of his other books, and is now nearly forgotten. Its author never included it in the list of his works, and if he ever mentioned it in after-life, it was but slightingly. It was criticised as faulty in construction, and as too melodramatic, though "The Crayon," in its capacity of art journal, found much to praise in its descriptions of scenery; yet it is a book by no means to be neglected by Parkman's biographer. As often happens with a first novel, it is, to a considerable extent, a self-revelation of the author. The hero, though there is little resemblance between his story and Parkman's own, is in many respects very like him. He has the same passion for the woods, the same craving for activity, the same love of adventure, the same "sovereign scorn for every physical weakness or defect;" and he has, like him, one paramount ambition, one engrossing study, somewhat akin to that to which Parkman devoted himself.

"Thierry's 'Norman Conquest' had fallen into his hands soon after he entered College. The whole delighted him; but he read and re-read the opening chapters, which exhibit the movements of the various races in their occupancy of the west of Europe. This first gave him an impulse

towards ethnological inquiries. He soon began to find an absorbing interest in tracing the distinctions, moral, intellectual, and physical, of different races, as shown in their history, their mythologies, their languages, their legends, their primitive art, literature, and way of life. The idea grew upon him of devoting his life to such studies." [1]

In the next paragraph the hero is represented as "seated on the wooden bench at the edge of Fresh Pond," revolving for the hundredth time the arguments for and against his proposed scheme, and finally "clinching his long-cherished purpose of devoting himself to ethnology for the rest of his days." It is not impossible that we have here a veritable bit of autobiography.

The conversations with which the book abounds are uncommonly animated. A great variety of subjects are discussed by the interlocutors with a force and pungency which vividly recall the author's own familiar talk. In his autobiographical fragment, he mentions as one effect of the two years' close confinement following the effusion of water on the knee in 1851, that "the brain was stimulated to a restless activity, impelling through it a headlong current of thought." This book, which must have been written or dictated about that time, may have been to him a safety-valve to relieve "the whirl, the confusion, and strange undefined torture attending this condition." Similar torture is endured by the hero of the novel in an Austrian dungeon.

HORTICULTURE — THE HISTORIES.

For several years after the publication of "Vassall Morton" Parkman's physical condition was such that all literary work was impossible. But a state of quiescent inactivity was equally impossible to him, and he took up with his habitual energy the practice of horticulture, with results decidedly beneficial to his health. Nor were these the only results.

"He practised the art of gardening with a success rarely equalled by those even who have devoted their lives to that occupation. . . . He introduced to cultivation in this country many new and attractive plants. He produced varieties in the lily and the poppy which will long adorn

[1] Vassall Morton, p. 37.

the gardens of the world, and he wrote one of our most useful books upon the rose and its cultivation." [1]

His success in this new field attracted the attention of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and he was for three years its "energetic and wise president." [2] It also procured for him the appointment as Professor of Horticulture in Harvard University, already mentioned. He did not give over this fascinating pursuit when the improvement in his health allowed him to resume his historical labors, but remained devoted to it through life, though toward the end he relaxed somewhat his original ardor.

It was not till 1865, nine years after the appearance of "Vassall Morton," that Parkman was able to publish "The Pioneers of France in the New World," being Part I. of the series, "France and England in North America." Part II., "The Jesuits," followed in 1867; Part III., "The Discovery of the Great West," in 1869; Part IV., "The Old Régime," in 1874; Part V., "Count Frontenac," in 1877. Then, Part VI. being passed over for the time, Part VII., "Montcalm and Wolfe," was published in 1884. The reason for this departure from chronological sequence was, as he said, that he wished to make sure of the final chapters of his book, those which contained the climax of the story, the final victory of the English on the Heights of Abraham. To recount this had been the goal of his ambition from the start, and to this all the rest of the history was merely introductory. The work had taken a much longer time than he had anticipated, and he feared that if he did not finish "Montcalm and Wolfe" at once, it might never see the light. His fear of not living to complete the series of his histories was not justified by the event, and the temporary gap was filled by the publication of "A Half Century of Conflict" in 1892. Twenty-seven years had elapsed since the publication of the first Part of the series, and the successive Parts had followed at intervals varying from two to eight years.

During this time Parkman had also contributed many articles to the magazines, consisting in great measure of advance chapters

[1] "The Book of Roses," published in 1866. See a paper read before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society by Dr. Henry P. Walcott, in the Boston Transcript, 16 December, 1893.

[2] *Ibid.*

from his histories, but comprising also reviews of books relating to American history, and a few papers upon political or social subjects, notably an article on "The Failure of Universal Suffrage," in the North American Review for July–August, 1878.

It is needless to recount all the obstacles and difficulties encountered and overcome in the preparation and composition of the "Historical Narratives." All this has been told by Parkman himself in his prefaces and in his autobiographical fragment. The volumes, as they successively appeared, were elaborately reviewed, and the verdict of the best critics, both at home and abroad, was decidedly favorable.

In Canada they excited great enthusiasm. It was recognized that, for the first time, the early history of that region had been fairly dealt with, and that Parkman was entitled to the gratitude of all patriotic Canadians. McGill University, at Montreal, gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws ten years before he received a similar honor from his own *Alma Mater*. A new township in Quebec County was named after him, and it was proposed to place his portrait in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa, while the Abbé Casgrain published at Quebec in 1872, in French, a charming *brochure*, in which he gives an account of the visit he made to the historian in Boston the previous year, a sketch of his life, and a review of so much of his great work as had then appeared. This review is highly eulogistic, with certain reservations natural to one who looked at events from the standpoint of the Jesuits,[1] rather than from that of liberty, which was Parkman's own.

One of the features of Parkman's histories which has been most highly praised is his faithful and picturesque descriptions of natural scenery. In these word-paintings he follows instinctively the rule so often insisted on by his friend, the artist William M. Hunt, "Accentuate the things that count." He thus avoids making mere catalogues or inventories of objects, — a fault into which the scrupulous but prosaic delineator, whether with pen or pencil, is apt to fall, — and gives us pictures instinct at once with artistic and poetic feeling. Many examples of his felicity of description might be given, but there is one which has a peculiar interest as a portrayal of features peculiar to the primeval American forest, — that forest of which he somewhere says his writings are the history: —

[1] See The Jesuits, p. 448.

". . . the stern depths of immemorial forests, dim and silent as a cavern, columned with innumerable trunks, each like an Atlas upholding its world of leaves, and sweating perpetual moisture down its dark and channelled rind; some strong in youth, some grisly with decrepit age, nightmares of strange distortion, gnarled and knotted with wens and goitres; roots intertwined beneath, like serpents petrified in an agony of contorted strife; green and glistening mosses carpeting the rough ground, mantling the rocks, turning pulpy stumps to mounds of verdure, and swathing fallen trunks, as bent in the impotence of rottenness they lie outstretched over knoll and hollow, like mouldering reptiles of the primeval world, while around and on and through them springs the young growth that battens on their decay, — the forest devouring its own dead."[1]

Such scenes as this, to be found nowhere except in the inmost recesses of the primeval forests of our Northern wildernesses, can indeed be adequately portrayed only by the pen; the pencil and the brush recoil from them in impotence. The various features, each of them essential to the understanding of the whole, are so crowded and intertwined that no general view can be had at one time and from one spot; they must be taken in successively and from different points. Besides, the palette has no colors to give the mysterious twilight, the oppressive stillness, and the chilling atmosphere, which would be death to the artist who should linger long in these damp recesses.

A concise yet comprehensive summary of Parkman's work as an historian, and a just estimate of the place it should hold in literature, are contained in the closing paragraph of the address read by John Fiske, a brother historian, at the memorial service in the academic theatre of Harvard University, soon after Parkman's death: —

"Thus, great in his natural powers, and great in the use he made of them, Parkman was no less great in his occasion and in his theme. Of all American historians he is the most deeply and peculiarly American, yet he is at the same time the broadest and most cosmopolitan. The book which depicts at once the social life of the stone age, and the victory of the English political Idea over the French Idea in securing this continent for its expansion, is a book for all mankind and for all time.

[1] The Old Régime in Canada, p. 314.

Strong in its individuality, and like to nothing beside, it clearly belongs among the world's few masterpieces of the highest rank."[1]

It was well worth fifty years of striving to attain such a result. It had taken a lifetime: the work was done, but the life, too, was nearly ended.

SOCIAL LIFE — CHARACTER.

During all these years Parkman made his home in Boston or its immediate vicinity. He paid, however, in the mean time several visits to Europe, and spent one winter in Florida. He made also frequent excursions to Canada and other localities, in which were laid the scenes of his histories, and often passed a week or two in "camping out," always with great benefit to his health.

His house at Jamaica Plain was the one which he had built for himself in 1854, and in which the later summers of his brief married life had been passed. It stood on rising ground, close to the shore of Jamaica Pond. Here he had his garden and green-houses, and here he came early in the spring, and remained late in the autumn of every year. He kept on the pond a boat, into which he could step from his garden, and obtain in rowing the exercise that was essential to him when walking was difficult and painful. Frequent friendly visits to a muskrat, his neighbor on the shore of the pond, added to the pleasure he took in his boat.

It was pleasant to visit him in his garden. He not only took pride in his flowers, but loved them, speaking of their characters, their habits, their caprices, as though they had been sentient beings. He was very generous in giving away blossoms, roots, and cuttings, and was always ready with wise counsel as to cultivation and management.

After the loss of his wife he returned to live, during the winter months, with his widowed mother, at first in a house in Walnut Street, and later at No. 50 Chestnut Street, Boston. Here his mother died in 1871, and the house having become the property of his only remaining unmarried sister, the two made it their permanent winter home, sharing together also the summer residence at Jamaica Plain. After the marriage of his youngest daughter, and the purchase by her husband of the old Wentworth house at

[1] Mr. Fiske has kindly furnished a copy of this paragraph.

Portsmouth, N. H., he usually made a visit there during the hot months of the summer. He greatly delighted in the place, on account both of its situation and of its historic associations. He has given a description of it in one of his books.[1]

In Parkman's case the boy was truly father of the man. Such as we have seen him in boyhood, youth, and early manhood, such he remained to the end. His character broadened, deepened; it did not change. His native vehemence was chastened, but by no means obliterated. His courage was shown in enduring pain, disappointment, and delay in mature life, no less than in the hazardous adventures of youth. The calm good-judgment and fertility of resource, which had stood him in good stead in the forest and on the prairie, served him as faithfully in less romantic, but no less difficult straits. To do his work, and to prolong his life that he *might* do it, was the double task to which he applied himself. The task was accomplished through his own unflinching courage, his tenacity of purpose, his patient industry, his unconquerable will.

But it was done quietly and simply. He rarely made any allusion to his work, or to the difficulties which impeded it. He said very little about his books or himself, except in reply to questions, and seemed to avoid the subject of his various illnesses and physical discomforts, as though half ashamed of having them. He studied his case for himself, and was often his own best physician; but he never wearied his friends with details of his symptoms, never repined, never complained, but bore all his trials, not only with fortitude, but with cheerfulness.

There was little in his personal appearance, at least in his later years, that denoted the invalid. The "squareness" of his shoulders was noticeable even when in college, and the exercise of rowing had still further developed both shoulders and chest. There was an alertness in all his movements as well as in his speech, and he carried himself more like a soldier than a scholar. No beard disguised the high-bred refinement of his face, or hid the varying expressions of his sensitive mouth, where gentleness was joined to strength.

He was fond of society, and had the instinct of hospitality. At his winter home in Chestnut Street, when his health permitted, he

[1] A Half Century of Conflict, ii. 92.

delighted to entertain his club, or a small circle of guests, at dinner or at an afternoon reception. But the care he had to take of his health, and the constant vigilance he had to exercise in order to keep his mental faculties in working condition, prescribed limits to the indulgence of these tastes. He was not often seen in large assemblies. Crowds were not only dangerous to him, but he disliked them. Often he was obliged to adopt the rule of seeing only one visitor at a time. But even when confined to his chair or his bed, and when the limit of a visit was fixed by his physician at five minutes, he had always a pleasant smile and a cheerful greeting for a friend. His fondness for animals never abated, and if a friend, as sometimes happened, brought a dog with him, the four-footed visitor was never denied admittance, but was welcomed cordially and by name.

He showed in his life the qualities, so conspicuous in his writings, of quick discernment, sound judgment, a keen sense of justice and absolute integrity, together with a sympathetic imagination which enabled him to put himself in another's place, and to see from another's standpoint, without abandoning his own. He had a strong tinge of conservatism, and on subjects in regard to which he felt himself competent he had his convictions, and expressed them without reserve. His friends, and they were many, both men and women, came to him for sympathy and counsel, and none found him wanting.

He was a delightful companion. His wide interests, his love of all manly exercises, his passion for all animal life, no matter how lowly, his faculty of close observation, and, above all, his keen and delicate sense of humor, made intercourse with him always stimulating and suggestive. It is probable that his sense of humor not only helped him over many a rough road, but quickened his insight into character, which was very acute. He was quick to see the humor of a situation or of a character; hence his great delight in Miss Austen's novels. Any one who has had the privilege of knowing him well will remember the peculiar charm of his smile when relating anything which amused him. It was not merely external; it seemed to arise in an inner consciousness, as it were, first stealing into his eyes, and spreading at last to the sensitive, flexible mouth, where it became of rare beauty. He was critical and fastidious in his literary taste, liking only the best. Brought up

among the refinements of life, he was essentially a gentleman in manner and in taste; but as he was a Spartan in the bearing of pain, so he was also a Spartan in his love of simplicity. Luxuries did not attract him; he did not object to them, but he simply did not care for them. He lived the quiet and unostentatious life of the scholar, keeping steadily to his life work, and finishing it under great stress of pain and difficulty, but with eye and heart open to all beneficent and humane influences, simple in his wants, generous in giving, of entire rectitude, greatly beloved by those nearest him by kin and friendship.

DEATH — FUNERAL — MEMORIAL SERVICE.

In the latter part of the year 1892 he had a severe attack of pleurisy, complicated with congestion of the liver, from which he was for some time not expected to recover. By the beginning of 1893 he had rallied from this; but in February he was prostrated by a new disease (phlebitis), which kept him for several weeks confined to his bed, and afterward to his chair. During the summer, at Jamaica Plain, and afterward at Portsmouth, his health greatly improved. He still suffered, indeed, from insomnia, which had now for years been chronic with him; and the arthritis, which had at first attacked the knees, had lately declared itself also in the shoulders, incapacitating him at times for rowing, and compelling him to devise other means for obtaining the exercise which was absolutely indispensable. On the whole, however, he seemed, on his return to Jamaica Plain in the autumn, in somewhat better physical condition and in better spirits than had of late been usual with him.

His seventieth birthday, 16 September, brought him abundant congratulations from his friends and from the press; and it was confidently hoped that he had still many years of life and usefulness before him. But seven weeks later, on the fifth of November, on returning from a short row on the pond, he had a seizure of peritonitis, causing, as is usual with that affection, intense and persistent pain. The illness was short, lasting only three days, and the end was sudden, painless, and peaceful. He died on the eighth of November, 1893.

His funeral took place on Saturday, 11 November, at King's

Chapel, Boston. The church was crowded; and the services, conducted by the Rev. Howard N. Brown of Brookline, were solemn and impressive. Use was made of the new "Book of Prayer and Praise for Congregational Worship," recently published, in which, "in the Burial Service, an effort has been made to change the too dominant note of gloom to one of hope and trust." The selections read had been carefully chosen, and were strikingly appropriate.

Twelve of Parkman's classmates, out of a total of twenty-eight survivors, were present, and a wreath, bearing the date of the Class, in white blossoms upon dark-green leaves, was laid upon his coffin in their name.

The pall-bearers, selected by the family from among his personal friends, were John Lowell, Martin Brimmer, Daniel Denison Slade, George Silsbee Hale, John Quincy Adams, Charles Sprague Sargent, and Edward Wheelwright. Of these, three were his classmates, and five, including these classmates, were members of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

On the evening of 6 December, 1893, a commemorative service in honor of Francis Parkman was held at Cambridge, in Sanders Theatre, the academic forum of the University, where, four years before, Parkman had received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and where, on so many Commencement Days, he had sat among the Fellows of the College. The audience was largely composed of students, whose quiet and reverential demeanor was strikingly in accord with the occasion. Addresses were made by President Eliot, Mr. Justin Winsor, and Mr. John Fiske. In the intervals of the speaking, a choir of undergraduates furnished appropriate music. The simple ceremony was at once affecting and inspiring. There was sorrow for the loss of a distinguished son and high officer of the College; but there was also exultation over the victory won, and the splendid example bequeathed to posterity.

The three speakers paid just and eloquent tribute to Parkman's fame as an historian.[1] But the man was greater than the historian; and to Parkman the man, no tribute has been paid more

[1] The closing paragraph of Mr. John Fiske's address has been already quoted on page 310.

tender, more exquisite, and more true than that contained in the last stanza of the poem read before the Massachusetts Historical Society by Oliver Wendell Holmes : —

> "A brave, bright memory! his the stainless shield
> No shame defaces and no envy mars."

SOCIETIES.

In a memorandum given in 1885 to the Secretary of his College class, Parkman made the following enumeration of societies of which he was then a member : —

Corresponding member of the Royal Society of Canada, 1884.
Honorary member of London Society of Antiquarians, 1878.
Member of Royal Historical Society of London, 1876, — resigned.
Member of a score or more of American and Provincial historical societies.

In addition to these it appears, by the last Quinquennial Catalogue of Harvard University, that he was a —

Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Honorary member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

He was also a member of the American Antiquarian Society.

Beside these, a few others may be mentioned with which he was connected.

He was one of the Founders of the Archæological Institute of America, established in 1879, becoming a member on its organization, and a life member and one of the Executive Committee soon after. Later, he was a member of the Council. He took a lively interest in the work of the Institute, especially, as was natural, in the investigations carried on under its auspices, by Mr. Bandelier, among the Indians in the Southwestern portions of the United States. At the same time he did not neglect the work done in Europe and Asia on classic ground, and was a contributor to the fund for establishing The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society he became a Resident member in 1865, and a Life member in 1871. He was

also a Life member of the Bostonian Society, and a member of the American Folk-Lore Society. His connection with the Massachusetts Horticultural Society has been already mentioned.

Of societies of a more social character with which he was connected, was the St. Botolph Club, of which he was one of the founders (January, 1880), and for the first six years of its existence, its President. On resigning that office he was chosen Vice-President, and held the position until his death.

Francis Parkman's connection with The Colonial Society of Massachusetts was brief. At the time when the Society was organized he was lying dangerously ill with pleurisy, and though at the date of his election, 18 January, 1893, he had apparently recovered from that illness, he was almost immediately afterward attacked by another malady which confined him to his bed for several weeks; consequently it was not until the ninth of April following that he accepted membership, and it was on the thirteenth of April that he was enrolled as a Resident member. His friendship for Dr. Gould, the President of the Society, and the fact that a number of his classmates and personal friends were among its founders and earliest members, together with his life-long devotion to historical research, would doubtless have made him take a warm interest in its welfare and a share in its work, had his life been spared. A little less than seven months after joining the Society his life and his membership ended together.

APRIL MEETING, 1894.

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on Wednesday, 18 April, 1894, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

In the absence of the President, who was attending, in Washington, a session of the National Academy of Science, the chair was occupied by Vice-President William Watson Goodwin.

After the reading of the records of the March meeting, the following named gentlemen were elected Resident Members : —

Nathaniel Cushing Nash. Henry Ainsworth Parker.

Messrs. Edward W. Hooper and Augustus Hemenway were appointed a Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts ; and Mr. Charles F. Choate, the Hon. Charles W. Clifford, and Dr. William Watson, a Committee on Nominations.

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis read the following paper : —

THE PEDIGREE OF ANN RADCLIFFE, LADY MOWLSON.

In the Transactions of the December meeting of this Society there will be found an account of what was then known of the history of the founder of the Lady Mowlson Scholarship at Harvard College. This information was communicated to the Society by Professor Goodwin, the occasion being the recent adoption of the name "Radcliffe College" by the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women. A few facts which had not before that time been made public were included in the statement then submitted to the Society. In the "New England Magazine" for

February, 1894, there is an article entitled "Ann Radcliffe, Lady Mowlson," in which the story of what had then been discovered concerning the Scholarship and its founder was told in narrative form, but without sacrificing the historical character of the paper. The new material contributed by Professor Goodwin to this Society was incorporated in the magazine article, but a comparison of the latter with the footnotes appended to the paper published in our Transactions will disclose the fact that certain gleanings from the British State Papers, which were not communicated to the Society, and which are not included in the magazine article, were made public in that form in our Transactions.

It will be remembered that the question was asked at our December meeting if the evidence was conclusive that the maiden name of Lady Mowlson was Ann Radcliffe. At that time proof of that fact rested upon the language used in her will, in which a bequest was made to her nephew, Anthony Radcliffe, son of her brother, Edward Radcliffe. In the opinion of genealogists it was a probable inference from this language that Lady Mowlson's family name was Radcliffe, but it could not be denied that Edward Radcliffe might have been a half-brother, in which event the inference would have fallen to the ground. Mr. John Ward Dean, who has taken great interest in the development of the facts which have been made public in connection with this subject, was of opinion that this doubt could easily be set at rest; and he wrote to Dr. George W. Marshall of Heralds College, London, asking him if he could aid in solving the question.

While waiting for an answer to this communication, Mr. Dean received from Mr. Henry F. Waters an abstract of the will of Anthony Radcliffe, a brother, who died in 1628. This was published in the April (1894) number of the "New-England Historical and Genealogical Register," and added somewhat to our knowledge of the family. In this will the testator left a bequest to his "sister Anne Moulson."

The publication of this document furnished occasion for an interesting note from the hand of Mr. John T. Hassam, in which he showed that "Lady Mowlson was related by marriage to prominent puritans and patriots of the day." Her nephew, Sir Gilbert Gerard, was married to a first cousin of Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden. A sister of Sir Gilbert's wife was married to Sir

William Marshall, in whose family two of our New England divines, Roger Williams and John Norton, were at different times chaplains.

Dr. Marshall's reply to Mr. Dean's inquiry was in due time received. In a letter dated 24 March, 1894, he says: —

In Vincent's London, I find a pedigree from which the following is an extract: —

Thos. Moulston de Hargrave = Alicia filia Johis Aldersey de
in Com. Cestris. | Spurstow.

Rebecca filia Tho. Moulston = Mar. Nicholaus Ranton Vice Comes London A° 1622.	Catharina ux. William Richford de Salop. = ↓	Johanes Moulston de Hargrave. = Anna filia ... ↓ ...	Thomas Moulston de London. = Anna fil. Anthonio Ratcliffe de London Alder-manne.	Annia ux. Hugonis Kendrick = ↓	Maria uxor Johis Jermyn de Norff. = ↓

Dr. Marshall adds that although the name is spelt Moulston, it means Moulson. The identification is perhaps a natural inference, but this endorsement by so high an authority places it beyond dispute. The fact has been already shown in the several papers which have been published on the subject, that the name is indifferently written Mowlson or Moulson, and in one of the records it figures as Moulsham. As if to illustrate the possible combination of letters which could be made while attempting to register this name, and to show contemporaneous indifference to accuracy in that line, it is stated in Ormerod's Cheshire that the following inscription is cut in stone, in the chapel at Hargrave Stubbs: "Thomas Moulsone, Alderman of the city of London, built this Chapel at his own cost and charge, A. D. 1627."

Beside forwarding the pedigree of the Moulston family, Dr. Marshall, on 27 March, 1894, sent Mr. Dean the following extracts from the Registers of St. Christopher le Stocks: —

1600. Dec. 15. Thomas Moulson and Ann Radclyffe. Lic. Fac. *Married.*

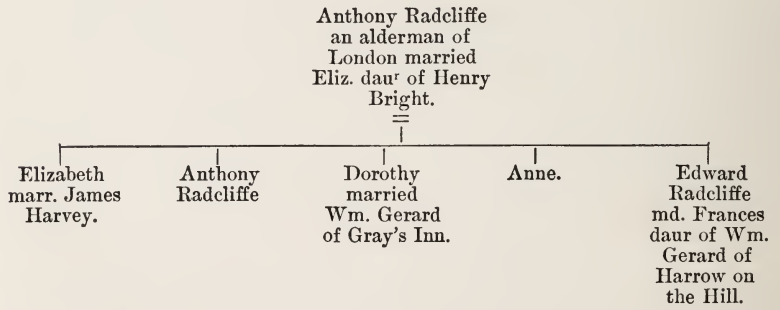
1606. Mar. 30. Mary d. Thomas Moulson. Bapt. Bur^{d} 1 Apr. follg.

1638–9. Jan. 10. Sir Thomas Moulson, Grocer, once Lord Maior of the Cittey of London. Bur'd.

1661. Nov. 1. Dame Anne Moulson in her own vault in South Chapel. Buried.

All doubts as to Lady Mowlson's family name are of course dissipated by these records; and to what was already known of her, the record of the baptism and burial of her daughter Mary adds the interesting fact that she was a mother. The language used in the will of Sir Thomas, "for so much as I have no child," can no longer be construed to mean that no child had been born during wedlock.

A wife in 1600, and a mother in 1606, are clews that for the first time give us some idea of her age when, in 1643, she had her eventful interview with Thomas Weld, and made the gift to Harvard College which has conferred immortality upon her name. In addition to the social relations with prominent leaders of the day, established by the marriage of Sir Gilbert Gerard, one other fact cannot fail to attract attention: Lady Mowlson's father was an alderman of the city of London. Her husband was alderman and Lord Mayor. Her husband's sister Rebecca was the wife of Nicholas Ranton, alderman and Lord Mayor. Thus, as we unravel the threads of her life and her associations from the woven story of the day, we find her place among those who ruled the nation through their political opinions or the power of their wealth. The records of St. Christopher's and the pedigree of the Moulstons practically settle all questions which were at issue, but a reference [1] furnished by Dr. Marshall in his letter of 24 March, 1894, gives us the following facts concerning her family: —



[1] Pedigrees of Hertfordshire Families. Collected by William Berry. Lithographed (not printed). London (no date). pp. 109–110. This volume also gives twelve generations of the pedigree of Alderman Anthony Radcliffe.

At the conclusion of Mr. Davis's paper, Professor GOODWIN expressed his great satisfaction at the information which had just been submitted to the Society. The doubt suggested at our December meeting had, he confessed, made him feel somewhat uneasy, for when a Bowditch raised a question concerning a pedigree, it necessarily unsettled the minds of those who had relied upon it. What the Society had just listened to seemed to him to be a complete and final settlement of the matter. The incorporation of Radcliffe College had made it desirable that all doubts upon this point should be removed.

Mr. CHARLES P. BOWDITCH disclaimed having intended to raise any question concerning the pedigree. The point which he had raised at the December meeting was simply one of proof. The evidence had been supplied to-day which was then lacking, and he joined heartily in the expressions of pleasure on the part of the presiding officer at the conclusive proof which had just been submitted to the Society that the family name of Lady Mowlson was Radcliffe.

The Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER gave a vivid account of the events which happened between Lexington Green and Concord Bridge on the night of the eighteenth of April, 1775, and on the following day. His remarks, to which the date of the meeting gave additional interest, were illustrated by a large plan of the old road between the two places. The plan also showed some of the adjacent towns and the location of many houses and points which played an important part in the events of which he was speaking.

At the conclusion of Mr. Porter's remarks, and during the discussion which followed, some six-pound cannon-balls, fired by Lord Percy's field-pieces during the engagement at Lexington, and recently ploughed up in the adjacent fields, were exhibited. There was also shown an old leather pouch partially filled with bullets — "plums for the British" — which had been stored for safety in the attic of the old meeting-

house in Lincoln, where they were found, long after the battle, when the building was under repair.

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY presented to the Society the original commission, on parchment, from Louis XIII. of France to Charles de la Tour as Lieutenant-General of Acadia. It is dated 8 February, 1631, and bears the signature of the king on its face, and that of La Tour on the reverse. The discovery of this interesting document gives us the correct date of the instrument, which is erroneously given as 11 February in Dr. Slafter's Memoir of Sir William Alexander,[1] and by a more recent writer in the Magazine of American History. The following is the text of the commission: —[2]

Louis par la grace de Dieu Roy de France et de Nauarre A tous ceux qui ces pntes Verront Salut, Scauoir faisons Que pour la bonne et entiere confiance que nous auons de la personne de nre cher et bien amé Charles de St Estienne es^{r} s^{r} de la Tour associé de la compa^{nie} de la nouuelle france et de son sens prudhommie fidelité experiance et bonne dilligence a Icelluy pour ces causes et autres a ce nous mouuans, Et en agreant et approuuant La nominaõn & presentation qui nous a esté faicte de sa personne par nre tres cher et tres amé Cousin Le s^{r} Cardinal de Richelieu Grand M^{re} chef et sur Intendant gn'al de la Nauigaon et commerce de france cy attachee soubz le contrescel de nre chan^{rie} Auons donné et octroyé, donnons et octroyons par ces pntes La charge de nre Lieutenant gn'al au pais de Lacadye fort Louis port de la Tour et lieux qui en dependent en la nouuelle france pour y commander a tous les gens de Guerre qui y sont tant pour la garde desd' lieux que pour maintenir le negoce et habitaon dud' pais conseruaon & seureté d'Icelluy soubz nre aucthorité et obeissance auec pouuoir d'establir soubz lui tels lieutenans que bon lui semblera Pour jouir & vser par led' s^{r} La Tour de lad' charge aux honneurs aucthorites prerogatiues preeminances franchises priuileges droictz fruictz proffictz & Esmolumens qui y sont & seront attribues tant quil nous plaira Sy DONNONS EN MANDEMENT A TOUS nos Lieutenans gnaũx Capitaines conducteurs de nos Gens de Guerre justiciers & officiers Lieutenans gnaũx Magistrats & Conseils de Ville

[1] Sir William Alexander and American Colonization (Publications of the Prince Society), p. 73.

[2] The words "Confirmaõn de 1631," are written in the upper left hand corner of the Commission.

chacun endroict soy Qu'ils laissent ledict s^r de la Tour jouir et user de la dicte charge plainement & paisiblement Et a luy obeir et entendre de tous ceux et ainsy quil appartiendra en choses touchant et concernant Icelle charge En tesmoing de quoy nous auons faict mettre ẽre scel [1] a ces d' pntes Car tel est nre plaisir Donne a Paris le viii^e jour du Feburier L'an de grace mil six cens trente ung et de nre regne le Vingt et ung.

Louis

[Endorsed]
Par Le Roy
Bouthillier

The following formal acceptance of the office is on the back of the Commission: —

Aujourdhuy Seiziesme jour du mois de juillet mil six cents trente ung jay recu les presentes lettres de prouision et accepte la charge de lieutenant general põ le Roy en ceste prouince de l'acadie et aultres quy en despendent selon la Volonté de sa Maj^te et conforment auz dictes lettres partans je promects et jure d'estre fidel au Roy a mon Seig^r le cardinal et a la comp^e de la nouuelle france garder les ordonnances et notamment l'edict de lad^te comp^e de la nouuelle france et les articles de societé d'icelle tant en qualité de lieutn^t gn̂al de sa Majesté en ses prouinces que come ung des associés d'icelle en foy de quoy ay signé le p̂nt acte faict led' jour au fort s^t Louys prouince de l'acadie pays de la nouuelle france.

de Par mon dict Seigneur Charles de Sainct Estienne.
F. Magny.

After the Commission was folded the entries given below were endorsed thereon: —

fevrier 1631

Louis XIII

30

Confirmation de la Commission
de Lieutenant à Mr de la Tour

The thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Gay for this valuable addition to the cabinet.

[1] This seal, unfortunately, is missing from the Commission.

Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL, Jr., read the following communications concerning the burial-place of Judge John Saffin, and the family of John Kind, whose gravestone was recently discovered during the demolition of a house in Hull Street, Boston: —

At our meeting in March of last year, I gave what I considered conclusive evidence that John Saffin was buried in Boston, thus controverting the opinion generally accepted that the place of his interment was at Bristol. I showed also that he occupied a dwelling-house in Boston, where I supposed he died. Recently, I have procured from Rhode Island a copy of a manuscript volume kept by him, in which, among numerous saws, apothegms, and wretched doggerels, he occasionally minuted some historical event, or some item relating to his family. I have collected these items, which I will not tire your patience to read now, but will submit to the committee of publication to print in our Transactions, or to reject, as they may deem proper. One of these, however, dated "Anno 1678," showing that he had a tomb in the Granary Burying-ground, seems such a corroboration of the surmise that he could have been interred nowhere else that I will read it: —

"And Now alas! there lyes Interred in One Tombe att the higher End of the upper Burying place in Boston my Dear Wife Martha Saffin & five of the Eight Sons She bare unto me. Namely my Son John ye first, who Dyed on the tenth Day of December 1661 wn he was upwards of two years old a faire Comely & towardly Child and sensible unto his Last."

Then follow the names, dates of death, etc., of the other children.

This entry was preceded by a series of memoranda giving dates of births, marriages, and deaths in his wife's family (she being the daughter of Thomas Willett, the first mayor of New York City), of his own parentage, birth, and marriage, and of the births of his own children. These are given below as transcribed for this paper, but I have not personally compared them with the original. The words in brackets are believed to be in the handwriting of

Francis Willett, son of Andrew, and grandson of Thomas, Saffin's father-in-law: —

New England Anno 1637

1637 9th Nov: Mary W: Born

In the year of our Lord on thousand six hundred thirty Seven Mary Willett Daughter to Capt: Tho: Willett & Mary his Wife Daughter to m^r^ Jno Brown was Borne in Plymouth on ye tenth Day of November [they sd Capt Willett & Mary Brown haveing been Married on the 6th July 1636]

1639 Agust 6th. Martha Willett was Born

Anno 1639. on the sixth Day of August Capt: Willetts Second Daughter Martha was Borne in Plymouth.

1641 Jno Willett was born the first augst.

Anno 1641. on the twenty-first Day of August Jno Willett Eldest Son to sd Capt: Willett was Born in Plymouth

1643. 4th May Sarah Willett was Born

Anno 1643. on the fourth Day of May Sarah Willett was Borne allso in Plymouth.

1644: 2d Xcembr

Anno 1644. on the Second Day of Decemb^r^ Rebeckah Willett was Borne in Plymouth

1646. 1st Octor Tho: Willett was Born

Anno 1646. on the first Day of Octob^r^ Thomas Willett ye Second son to Capt Willett & Mary his wife, was Born in Plym^o^.

Ester

Anno 1648. on the tenth of July Esther Willett was born

James

Anno 1649. on the twenty third Day of Novemb^r^ James Willett was Born in Plymouth Aforesaid.

Hezekiah

Anno 1651. on the Seventeenth Day of Novemb^r^ Hezekiah Willett was Born in Plymouth.

David

Anno 1654. on ye first of Novemb^r^ David Willett was born.

Andrew

Anno 1655. on the fifth of Octobr^r^ Andrew Willett was Borne in Plymouth. [and Dep^td^: this Life the 6 of Aprill 1712 and in the 57 yeare of his Age]

Samll: Anno 1658. on the twenty seventh Day of October Samuel Willett the youngest son to Capt Tho: Willett And Mary his sd Wife was Born in Plymouth aforesaid.

Anno 1669 on the Eighth Day of January my Honrd: Mother in Law Mrs. Mary Willett, first wife to Capt. Thomas Willett Deceased, and was buried in the usuall buriall place by her Father m^{r} Jno Brown & other Relatives upon a little hill in Swansey being in their owne land.

Anno 1674 on the 4th Day of August My Honrd: Father in law the worshipfull Capt Thomas Willett Esqr Deceased and was buried in the same place in Swansey.

Anno 1675 My Grand Mother Brown Departed this life on the 27th 1673 [*sic*] in the good old age of about Ninety six years.[1]

This was taken out of my pockett Book some time since.

New England Anno 1658.

1658 In the Year of o^{r} Lord one thousand Six Hundred Fifty Eight on the third Day of Decemb^{r} (being fryday) I Jno Saffin Eldest Son to Simon Saffin of the City of Exceter Merchant by Grace his Wife onely Daughter to Mr. Jno Garrett sometime of Barnstable in ye County of Devon; was in or about the 26 year of my age Married to my Dearly Beloved Wife Martha ye 2d Daughter to Capt Tho: Willett, at Plymouth in N-England; By Mr. William Collier one of the Magistrates.

[1] Savage (i. 270) records the death of Dorothy, widow of the Hon. John Brown, at Swanzey, 27 January, 1674, at the age of 90. As this statement, taken in connection with that of Judge Saffin, at once challenged attention, inquiry was made at Swanzey upon the points at issue. The courteous and obliging town clerk, Mr. Henry O. Wood, has kindly furnished the following verbatim extract from the ancient records in his official custody: —

"Mrs. Dorothy Brown wife of John Brown Senr deceased the twenty seaventh day of January 1673 being the ninety and eighth year of her age or thereabouts and was buryed uppon the 29th of January 1673." (Book A. Page 143.)

Mr. Wood communicates the interesting fact that the name and memory of this Colonial dame is perpetuated in Swanzey by the "Dorothy Brown Rebekah Degree Lodge 122 I. O. O. F."

See Judge Davis's edition of Morton's Memorial, pp. 295-297.

Jno 1 1659 — Anno 1659. on the Thirteenth Day of Septemb[r] between twelve & one of the Clock my said Wife Martha through y[e] goodness of God was Delivered of hir first born Son John in the town of Boston in New England — John 1

1661 Jno 2 — Anno 1661. on Monday y[e] Fourteenth Day of Aprill about seven A clock in the norning, my second son John was Born in Boston by my said Wife. — John 2

1663 — Anno 1663. on fryday y[e] Eighteenth Day of March, between two & three A clock in the morning my Dear Wife Martha was Delivered of her third son Thomas in Boston — Thomas

1666 — Anno 1666. on Satuerday y[e] Fourteenth Day of Aprill about two of the Clock afternoon my Son Simon was born in Boston — Simon

1667 — Anno 1667. on Thursday at Night between twelve & one a clock The Thirtyth Day of January my fifth Son Josiah was Born in Boston — Josiah

1669 — Anno 1669. on Wednesday y[e] second Day of February about halfe an hour past Eleven at Night my Dear Wife Martha was delivered of her Sixth son Named Joseph in Boston — Joseph 1

1676 — My said son Joseph Deceased on y[e] 5th Sept 1676 being Tusday

1672 — Anno 1672. on ye Day of My Wife Before her time occationed by a fall in a fainting fitt as she was goeing to Meeting with her Mayd Betty on a Sabbath day The sd Child lived about thirty hours then Dyed and was buried In Boston. See y[e] Towne Record.[1] — Benjamin

1676 Joseph 2d — Anno 1676. on Wedensday the 24th Day of January my wife Martha was Delivered of her Eighth son Named Joseph about six weekes before her time, in the Town of Boston. — Joseph 2

[1] The Boston Town Records as printed in the Record Commissioners' Reports (ix. 124) state that Benjamin, son of John and Martha Saffin, was born 15 June, 1672.

Anno 1678 My Sweet Son Simon after 17 Dayes sickness Deceased by that Epidemicall Distemper of the small pox. I being then sick of ye same desease on the 23th Day of November.

On the 9th Day of December following my Beloved Son John Dyed of the same Desease being my second born son & now the Eldest above 16 years old.

1678 Martha On Wedensday about midnight 11th Day of December My thrice Dearly Beloved Consort Departed this life after Eleven Dayes Sickness of that Deadly Disease of ye small pox all wch hath tended to my allmost insuportable grief After the enjoyment of her my Sweet Martha 20 yeares 1678

Here follows the paragraph concerning the tomb, as already given on page 360. The record continues thus: —

Next to him [*i. e.* his son John] my Son Benjamin Dyed an Infant that lived but about 30 hours the 16th day of June 1672 [But see above.]

Next to him my Son Joseph Deceased of a Flux when he was about seven years old, A Brave Comely And Every way beautyfull, & as witty & towardly a Child as one shall see Amongst a Thousand

1678 Decbr: Next to him my Son Simon Dyed of that mortall and most Epidemicall Desease of the small pox who was also fairehair'd comely youth, had attained to a good Degree of Gramar, and allmost a Nonesuch for a Naturall veine & fancy of Limning wherein he did super Excell, to ye Admiration of all y^t^ saw him

And Next to him my Eldest though second Born son John who was the Darling of his time here for witt & learning and a sweet behaviour amongst all sorts of persons of good Repute that had any knowledge of him & had [illegible] in the Colledge for his parts and learning above Thirteen of y^e^ Classes being y^e^ head of all them y^t^ were Contemporays with him; But God took him allso by Death with the same Desease of y^e^ small pox to my amazeing griefe at y^e^ loss of him and so many in so short a time.

$168\frac{8}{7}$ March 23th. Memorandum That On the 23th March Ano $168\frac{8}{7}$ I landed my Goods & Houshold Stuff at my house att Boundfield in the Township of Bristol.

1688 That in the Month of March 1688 I began to plant
1691 my Orchard at Boundfield and finished it in 1691.

The subject of the foregoing paper naturally suggests another. The Boston Evening Transcript of 16 April, 1894, contains an item inviting some explanatory remarks which you may be interested to hear. It is an account of a head-stone found in a building recently torn down "on Hull Street, near the top of Copp's Hill." According to the Transcript, the stone bears the following inscription: —

HERE LYETH BURIED
YE BODY OF
JOHN KIND,
AGED 44 YEARS,
DEC'D. JULY YE 29,
1690.

The place where this stone probably stood in Copp's-Hill Burying-ground is indicated by other stones still standing to the memory of members of the Kind family.[1] The name of the person whom it commemorates figures in the first of the series of Private Acts passed under the Province Charter. He died seised of a small piece of land in Boston with a wharf adjoining, and a dwelling-house thereon; and having survived his wife,[2] and left eight orphan children in the custody of his mother, Jane, the widow of Arthur Kind, and the house having been destroyed by fire about two years after his decease, his mother, who had been appointed administratrix of his estate, applied to the legislature for a grant of the real estate in consideration of her care and maintenance of his children, and of her disbursements for his funeral.

[1] See Whitmore's Copp's-Hill Epitaphs, p. 34.

[2] By the inscription on the gravestone of Rachel, wife of John, it appears that she died 6 July, 1690, twenty-three days before her husband.

The prayer of the petition was granted, and an act vesting the real estate in the petitioner in fee was passed 7 March, 1692–93, under the title "An Act for the granting unto Jane Kind, widow, a void piece of land in Boston belonging unto the estate of her son, John Kind, deced."

Since the circumstances leading to this peculiar piece of legislation afford glimpses, not to be had elsewhere, of life in Boston two hundred years ago, and include some account of the ravages of a conflagration[1] at the north end of the town that seems to have been overlooked by recent compilers of lists of early fires in Boston, I may, perhaps, be pardoned for giving more space to the subject than would be required for a simple elucidation of the mystery of the recently discovered gravestone.

John Kind's estate was conveyed to him by Robert Cox, innholder, and Esther, his wife, for three hundred pounds in current money, 8 February, 1683–84.[2] It was "near the Swan Tavern," and situated on Halsey's Wharf, on or near the present Land's Court, — North Street at that time skirting the wharves at that point, and this court running down the wharf. According to the sworn return of the committee nominated by the selectmen under the act, the land was "about twenty-five foot in the front next the street, and twenty-eight foot or thereabouts in the rear."[3]

The following, which is Mrs. Kind's first petition, was evidently prepared to be presented to the General Court at one of the earlier sessions held in 1692. The paper upon which it is written has been cut, and all that is now legible on the back is the memorandum "Jane Kind^{s} Pet^{con}". The loss of the House Journals and the silence of the Council Records render the exact date doubtful, and preclude the discovery of the action taken upon this petition in the House, where it was probably first presented.

"To the Grave & Judicious ye General assembly of ye Province of ye Massachusetts Bay now Sitting at Boston —

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[1] This fire occurred on the fifth of July, 1692, according to Laurence Hammond, who adds that it "began in ye King's-Head Tavern in Boston, by Halsy's Wharf, betw 11 & 12 at night," and that it "destroyed about 20 Dwelling Houses & Warehouses." — *Diary:* 2 *Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, vii. 162.

[2] Suffolk Deeds, xiii. 438–440.

[3] *Ibid.* xxii. 425.

The Humble Peticõn of Jane Kind Widdow, inhabitant in ye Said towne of Boston, —

Humbly Sheweth//

That John Kind Late of Boston Butcher Son to Your Peticõn^r^ with Rachel his wife, about Two Yeares Since deceased in ye Visitacõn of ye Small Pox & hath left eight orphans behind them, ye little all for ye Support of whome, Since ye late fire, at ye Northerly end of ye Towne of Boston is reduced to a Piece of ground, ye remains & ruine of an howse & wharfe formerly ye Estate of ye Said John Kind deceased — Yo^r^ Peticõn^r^ having taken on her ye administracõn of ye Estate of the deceased & being so nearly Related to ye Said Orphans & not being able of her Selfe to educate & Provide for them, & also considering that the Said ground & wharfe must lye dead many Yeares by reason neither Your Peticõn^r^, nor ye Said Orphans are any wayes capable of rebuilding & repairing said ruines//

Yo^r^ Peticõn^r^ Therefore earnestly implores This Honble Court to take ye matter into Yo^r^ grave Consideracõn & to permit & order that ye Said Land may be Sold for ye Supply, & Support of ye Said orphans.

And Yo^r^ Peticõn^r^ as in duty bound Shall alwayes Pray &c —

Jane Kind."[1] —

The petitioner does not appear to have made further application to the Legislature until the next spring, when she presented another petition, which would seem to have been acted upon, first in the House, on the sixth of March, the day of its date, notwithstanding an entry in the Council Records showing that the bill was read and debated in the Council two days earlier.

This second petition[2] omits some of the statements made in the first petition, but adds that upon the death of her son, the petitioner "was necessitated immediately to take the care" of his orphan children, and that for two years before the fire she had collected rents to the amount of "fourteen pounds or thereabouts."

The engrossment of the act has not been discovered, but a memorandum on the bill shows that it was "orderly read in ye house" on the sixth of March 1692/3 "& voted in ye Affirmatiue & sent to his Excellency ye Gou^r^no^r^ & Councill for Consent," and that on the seventh it was "Read several times in Council, Voted and Ordered to be Engrossed and pass into an Act." On the same day it was consented to by the Governor.

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xvi. 476.

[2] *Ibid.* xvi. 475.

The act required the administratrix to give bond to account for the whole value of the land and wharf according to an appraisement to be made as therein directed. She gave to the Judge of Probate such a bond, bearing date 8 February, 1693–94, in the penalty of two hundred and forty pounds, with Joseph Bridgham and Stephen French as sureties.[1]

By the account of the administratrix, allowed 9 August, 1707, it appears that her receipts above the personal property inventoried amounted to fifty pounds, and that this sum added to the value of the real estate as appraised after the fire, and of the personal estate (which was appraised at forty-eight pounds) made a total of £218 9*s*., and that she was allowed £260 7*s*. for disbursements.

No evidence has been discovered that this act was ever transmitted to the Privy Council. It was, however, recorded in the Registry of Deeds for Suffolk County.[2]

Jane Kind conveyed this estate in mortgage 3 October, 1694, to John Foster, of Boston, Esquire, for one hundred pounds current money. This mortgage was discharged 27 April, 1703.[3] After the fire a brick building was erected on the premises, and Mrs. Kind finally made an absolute conveyance of the estate, in fee simple, to Thomas Clark of Boston, pewterer, 1 February, 1705–6, for six hundred pounds, current money.[4]

Mr. HENRY H. EDES read the following paper: —

At our Stated Meeting in March of last year I communicated an extract from a letter of Peter Faneuil to his friend and correspondent, Peter Baynton of Philadelphia, which, together with other matter printed in connection therewith in our Transactions, has probably settled the long mooted questions as to the date of the shipwreck of the Palatines off Block Island and the destination of the ill-fated vessel. It is an interesting question whether Faneuil's relations with Baynton were purely commercial or whether they partook of a social nature, and if so what ties, if any, bound this rich Philadelphia merchant to New England.

In the Cabinet of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, where a fragment of one of Faneuil's letter-books[5] is preserved, a commercial Ledger covering the period from April, 1725,

[1] Suffolk Probate Files, No. 1739.
[2] Suffolk Deeds, xxii. 424, 425.
[3] *Ibid.* xvi. 408–410.
[4] *Ibid.* xxii. 425–428.
[5] The first letter is dated 13 June, 1737, the last 5 May, 1740.

to March, 1732, is also to be found. This volume, which is an unusually large folio, fills six hundred and seventy-six pages and is nearly perfect. The paper is of the best quality, and the accounts, which are spread on every page, are written in a most elegant hand, the headings looking as though they were engraved. This Ledger, hitherto, has been reputed to be that of Peter Faneuil. The "Sexton of the Old School" tells us that Faneuil "had, for several years before the death of his uncle Andrew, been engaged in commerce."[1] Andrew Faneuil died 13 February, 1737–8,[2] leaving by his will of 12 September, 1734,[3] to this nephew what probably was then the greatest fortune in New England. Mr. Sargent tells us that Peter Faneuil had come to Boston as early as 3 July, 1728, when he was concerned in the duel fought on Boston Common between Benjamin Woodbridge and Henry Phillips, whose brother, Gillam Phillips, had married his sister, Marie Faneuil, on 6 August, 1725.[4] As the Ledger records the transactions of what in those days must have been a most extensive trade,[5] it seemed improbable that they were those of a young man of twenty-five[6] living in the same town in which his uncle was one of the foremost merchants. A critical examination of the volume in connection with an imperfect Invoice-book[7] of the Faneuils in the same Cabinet, and written in the same hand, demonstrates the fact that the Ledger contains the accounts of both uncle and nephew, and suggests the probability that they were in partnership. The further interesting fact is also revealed that Peter Faneuil was in Boston as early as — and, presumably,

[1] Dealings with the Dead, ii. 515.

[2] Boston Newsletter, No. 1769.

[3] Suffolk Probate Files, No. 7107.

[4] Dealings with the Dead, ii. 509, 550–551.

[5] An examination of the Ledger discloses transactions with correspondents in Antigua, Bristol, Eng., Canso, Connecticut, Guernsey, Jersey, London, Louisburg, Martinique, New York, Pennsylvania, Rotterdam, Rhode Island and Virginia, besides Boston and many of the smaller towns in Massachusetts. It is interesting also to note the names of the following families which appear in this ponderous tome: Barrett, Boylston, Boutineau, Bromfield, Cabot, Chardon, Coffin, Colman, Cushing, DeLancey, Folger, Hallowell, Hooper, Hutchinson, Jackson, Johonnot, Lloyd, Lyman, Maverick, Minot, Palfrey, Parkman, Paxton, Phillips, Pickman, Quincy, Royall, Salter, Savage, Scollay, Sewall, Sturgis, Verplanck, Waldo, Wendell, and Winslow.

[6] Peter Faneuil was born 20 June, 1700, at New Rochelle, N. Y.

[7] The earliest entry is dated 9 April, 1725, and the latest 21 October, 1730. The Invoices are consecutively numbered, and cover consignments to Andrew and Peter Faneuil, which are entered indiscriminately.

before — 23 June, 1725, on which day John Mytton and Company of London consigned to him *here* an invoice (No. 20) of goods valued at £445 13 6. It appears by this Ledger (page 153) that the commercial relations of Peter Baynton and the Faneuil family began as early as 10 June, 1728, when an item appears to his credit. On the Debit side of the account is written "Peter Baynton m/a[1] of Philadelphia," which fully identifies Peter Faneuil's correspondent of 24 April, 1740. Other accounts are with Daniel Ayrault and Judith Cranston, widow of Governor Cranston, both of Rhode Island. In this connection it should not be forgotten that "Benjamin Faneuil, the father of our Peter, was closely associated with that little band of Huguenots who clustered about the town of Narragansett, otherwise called Kingstown, and the region round about, at the very close of the seventeenth century;"[2] and that he was married in that place, at the house of Peter Ayross, to Anne Bureau, 28 July, 1699. It should also be borne in mind that some thirty families of Huguenots settled in the "Nipmug Country" in what is now Oxford (contiguous to Sutton on the west) under the auspices of Governor Dudley. The settlement, however, was broken up by Indian inroads in 1696, and many of these settlers took up their abode in Boston.

My attention has recently been called[3] to an Indenture dated 15 June, 1726, and recorded in our Suffolk Registry of Deeds by which it appears that Baynton's second wife was a grand-daughter of that John Smith of Newport, Rhode Island, who, in November, 1679, was appointed, with John Alborough, to run the boundary line between Rhode Island and Connecticut.[4] The record shows that Baynton came to Boston and acknowledged this instrument before John Ballantine on the fifteenth of June, 1726, two years before his name appears in the Faneuil Ledger and fourteen years before Peter Faneuil wrote to him, in April, 1740, the letter to which I have already referred. It also appears by this document that the Bayntons owned one thirty-third of the township of Sutton in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, which they held in the right of the Surveyor who, they state, was one of the original

[1] This is probably an abreviation of "Merchandise Account."
[2] Dealings with the Dead, ii. 507.
[3] By Mr. Walter Kendall Watkins.
[4] Rhode Island Colonial Records, iii. 73.

proprietors or grantees of the township.[1] As John Smith is believed to have died in or before 1699 and Sutton was not settled till after 1700, and as I do not find Smith's name in the list of original grantees in the History of the town, the discovery of this Indenture is important.[2] Smith surveyed the Narragansett land in 1678;[3] and on the twenty-fifth of August, 1686, an Agreement[4] was entered into between the Indians and the English by which the latter acquired lands at Hassanamisco, and thus became the owners of what is now Sutton. One of the articles of this Agreement provided that a survey of the land should be made in the following October at the equal charge of the parties to it. It is probable that John Smith's interest in the Sutton lands dates from

[1] The text of the essential parts of this Indenture is as follows: —

This Indenture made the fifteenth day of June Anno Dom. 1726, & in the twelfth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King George over Great Britain &c. Between Peter Baynton of the City of Philadelphia in the province of Pensilvania merch^{t} & Mary his wife only Child of John Budd late of Philadelphia aforesaid but now of Hanover in the province of New Jersey Esqr & Rebecckah his wife dec^{d} which said Rebekah was only Daughter & heir of John Smith late of Newport in the Colony of Rhode Island &c. Surveyor dec^{d} on the one part & Thomas Child, Joshua Wroe & John Marshall all of Boston [etc. on the other part, Witnesseth the conveyance, for £400, of] One full Thirty-third Part of the Township of Sutton in the County of Suffolk & province of the Massachusetts bay aforesaid which they the said Peter Baynton & Mary his wife do now hold and Enjoy in right of their said Grandfather John Smith, who was one of the original Grantees or proprietors of the said Township in the same manner as other the original Proprietors of the s^{d} Township do now hold & enjoy their rights therein, etc.

Witnesses: Benj^{a} Rolfe Richard Waite and
Anth^{o} Woalfe Eben^{r} Bennit.

Suffolk Deeds, xliii. 304. See also *Ibid.* xliv. 2.

[2] The History of Sutton (pp. 1–2) states, that the township was bought of John Wampus and other Nipmug Indians; that it was a tract eight miles square, embracing in its limits an Indian reservation of four miles square called Hassanimisco; that the deed from Wampus was lost; that the Proprietors met on 22 February, 1731–2 and ordered "a new book" for records to be provided wherein the Wampus deed and the grant of the General Court of 1704 were to "be first placed;" and that the book was procured, but that while the grant of 1704 was recorded in it the Wampus deed was not. Probably it had already disappeared.

[3] With Captain Peleg Sanford (*Rhode Island Colonial Records* iii. 26). The next year Smith was appointed by the General Assembly to survey Mount Hope Neck. (*Ibid.* iii. 55.)

[4] Recorded with Suffolk Deeds, xvi. 89–90.

this time. This grant by the Indians was confirmed by a Resolve of the General Court in 1704.[1]

How the Bayntons' share of the township came to be one thirty-third I have not been able to determine. If it shall appear that the Surveyor left a son James the parentage of the person of that name included in the before-mentioned confirmatory grant of 1704 is established beyond a reasonable doubt.

From John Osborne Austin's Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island it is learned that John Smith, Surveyor, of Newport and Bristol, by wife Susanna, had five children: Rebecca, Margaret, Mary, John, and Thomas, born between 1678 and 1692; that Thomas had a wife Mary; that Susanna, *widow* of John Smith of Newport, sold land 20 July, 1699; and that she died in 1712. It will be observed that no son James appears in this list. In a conveyance[2] by Charles Crosthwayt of Piles Grove Precinct in the County of Salem and Province of West New Jersey, dated 23 November, 1721, he styles himself "grandson and sole heir of George Danson, late of Boston," and refers to his grandfather as having been an original proprietor and grantee of Sutton and the owner of one-tenth of the township. If John Smith owned another, an eleventh, share and left three children, each child would have been entitled to one thirty-third of the township; but the Indenture of the Bayntons declares that their mother, Rebekah, wife of John Budd, was the "only daughter and heir of John Smith." Here, then, is a problem for the historians and genealogists of Sutton, Newport, and Bristol to solve.

Mr. ROBERT N. TOPPAN called attention to a letter written by the late Hon. Charles H. Bell concerning the authenticity of the Wheelwright deed, which has recently been printed by the Prince Society for insertion as an addendum to their published volume on the Rev. John Wheelwright. He thought this document might be of interest to the Society, as the topic was touched upon by Mr. Edmund M. Wheelwright in his paper read at the March meeting, and presented one of the printed copies for the library.

[1] Resolves of 1703–4 Chap. 101, Province Laws, viii. 46.

[2] Recorded with Suffolk Deeds xxxv. 260.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1894.

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Wednesday, 21 November, 1894, at half-past five o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Dr. BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD, in the chair.

After the records of the last Stated Meeting had been read and approved, Dr. GOULD spoke as follows: —

It is with extreme satisfaction that I congratulate the Society upon the continuance of its successful activity and upon the encouragement given by the experience of its second year to the confident faith which led to its establishment. Notwithstanding the peculiar obstacles offered by the financial condition of the country, the Society has gone steadily forward with its work and seems already to have earned high recognition, as well as a position of influence through a field far wider than this immediate community. We have reason to hope that its resources may, at no distant day, be such as to provide it with a local habitation where its books, its relics and its mementos can be preserved and made accessible without imperilling their safety; and various intimations have been received that as soon as this shall have been secured objects and documents of much value will be offered for its acceptance.

At the time of our first Annual Meeting, one year ago, our Roll contained the names of seventy-seven Resident Members; and, before the close of the season, twenty-three others had been added, — thus filling out its full number of one hundred. It is with satisfaction and gratitude that I am able to-day to report this number as still unbroken. The Nomination List, moreover, is abundantly supplied with names which would do honor to the Society, and whose possessors would render it service. Details of its history

during the year and of the plans now under consideration will be given you in the Report of the Council; and the Treasurer will present the account of its finances.

I am sure that it will not be deemed inappropriate, but rather that it will give utterance to the feeling of all our members, if I express what must be the general sentiment, in lamenting the eminent citizen whose remains have to-day been consigned to their last resting-place. Although not our fellow-member here — for he had attained the age of eighty-three years before our Society was organized — he was the senior member of two kindred societies and long the presiding officer of one of them. Moreover, he traced his lineage directly to John Winthrop, Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. He had himself filled many of the chief offices of state, enjoying the respect and personal regard of men of all political parties, as a patriotic citizen and good man. We offer our condolence to his colleagues and to his kindred.

At the conclusion of the President's remarks the Hon. Charles W. Clifford offered the following Resolutions which were adopted unanimously by a rising vote: —

Resolved, That the close of the earthly career of the Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop is an event of such transcendent interest to all students of history, as well as to every citizen of our Nation who is proud of its illustrious founders and of those of their successors who have emulated their virtues, that this Society claims the privilege to take notice of the death of this eminent patriot, polished orator, thorough scholar, and amiable and generous citizen, who for so many years gracefully presided at the councils of our oldest historical society.

Resolved, That though we recognize his high natural gifts as qualities not to be acquired by art, we commend his example of patriotism, industry, fidelity, and urbanity to those who are seeking to mould their lives according to the best models of devotion to noble ends.

The Report of the Council was read by the Corresponding Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Annual Report of the Council naturally divides itself into three parts: first, the detailed report of what has taken place during the year, which is required by the By-Laws of the Society to be presented at the Annual Meeting; second, a statement of the present condition of the Society; and third, such suggestions as to the future, as the Council wish to offer for the consideration of the members.

One year ago, the list of Resident Members of the Society counted only seventy-seven. On this, the second anniversary of our Annual Meeting, we assemble with the allotted number of one hundred names upon our Roll. Two names have also been added during the year to the list of Honorary Members.

The losses which we sustained during the first year of our existence as a Society bring before us all the more vividly the cause that there is for congratulation that we stand to-day with our ranks unbroken.

Five Stated Meetings other than the Annual Meeting have been held during the year. At all of these the attendance of members was very satisfactory. Communications, either historical or biographical in character, were submitted by members at each of these meetings. All of these, whether they were in the form of written essays, of oral statements, or of addresses, were referred to the Committee of Publication. The gentlemen appointed to prepare Memorials of our late fellow-members, Frederick Lothrop Ames and Francis Parkman, have performed their allotted tasks, and these have also been sent to the press. The printed Transactions of the November, December, January, and February meetings have been distributed among the members. Owing to causes beyond the control of the Committee, the Transactions of the March and April Meetings are not yet ready for distribution.

In the Report of the Council submitted at the last Annual Meeting, it was stated that Volume II. of our Publications would contain the Royal Commissions of the Provincial Governors and their Instructions. It was thought when this statement was made that the volume would have been delivered to members before this

time. Notwithstanding the fact that the manuscript copies of the Commissions are in the hands of the printer, various circumstances have concurred to delay their publication.

Mr. Goodell, through whose liberality the Society is in possession of these valuable documents, has, from time to time, had considerable correspondence with the British Public Record Office in reference to them. The series now in our possession purports to be complete, but there are reasons based upon the customs of the times and upon statements of historians, for supposing that other Commissions were issued. It was therefore desirable to receive from the Record Office a direct statement that no Commissions of interest to us were on file there, other than those of which copies had already been received. Neal, in the second volume of his History of New England, says: "King Charles II., upon his seizure of the Charter of New England, had sent out Henry Cranfield, Esq., Governor, by Commission from himself; but King James, upon his accession to the crown, displaced him and appointed Joseph Dudley, son of Thomas Dudley, to succeed him." Douglass in his Summary refers to the current belief that Henry Cranfield, Governor of New Hampshire, had been appointed Governor of New England. He adds that it is certain that the Commission was never published. The association of the name of Cranfield with New England affairs is natural. Edward Cranfield was Governor of New Hampshire. Still, it was not desirable to assume that this positive statement by Neal was an error, until every reasonable effort to secure the supposed Commission had been exhausted. Palfrey, in his History of New England, states that Colonel Piercy Kirk was, in 1684, selected by Charles II. to govern New England. 8 November of that year, an order was issued that Kirk's Commission and Instructions be prepared. Whether this order was carried into effect is not known. It is certain that Kirk never came to this country as Governor of New England, but it is not an easy task to show that the order to prepare his Commission was not carried out. The necessity was obvious in this case for something more from the Public Record Office, than an ordinary official statement that copies of all the Commissions that could be found had been forwarded. The desirability of more than a mere perfunctory search, in both the foregoing cases, is emphasized by the fact that the papers relating

to Colonial affairs covering the period prior to the accession of William III. were left in great disorder and confusion.

Under William's regime, orderly methods were inaugurated, and after that date it is much more probable that the failure to find a document means that none such ever existed. Yet even at this later date there are certain gaps in the series of Commissions which call for special reports. It was, for instance, the custom, on the demise of the Crown, to issue new Commissions and new Instructions to Provincial Governors. There are several apparent violations of this rule in the set of Commissions now under consideration, and it was conceived that a special statement ought to be secured from the Public Record Office which should show that the missing documents were not on file. During the summer a member of the Council called on Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, at his office in Fetter Lane, and in an interview explained to him the necessity for an explicit statement that the several missing documents could not be found. Mr. Sainsbury, whose whole life in the service of the British Government has been spent at work among the Colonial Papers, has recently been retired from active service, but is still permitted, through courtesy, to retain an office in one of the public buildings in Fetter Lane. He stated that his memory was quite fresh as to the search made for these Commissions and he thought he could answer categorically — if he had not already done so — the questions as to the Commissions and Instructions supposed to be missing, in such a way as to be practically a statement that none of them were to be found in the Record Office. Before making this statement he wished to look carefully over the memoranda laid before him, and as he was no longer a regular attendant at the office, this examination might, he said, require some little time. As a result of this interview, Mr. Goodell has since received from Mr. Sainsbury a letter on the subject which has led the Committee of Publication to believe that they can with propriety urge forward the preparation of the volume. The Council announce with pleasure that Mr. Goodell has consented to write the Introduction.

The foregoing seems to the Council to comprise such facts connected with the doings of the Society during the year as are of interest to the members, with the exception of such as will be disclosed by the consideration of the Treasurer's statement, showing

the present financial condition of the Society, which statement will be separately presented. An examination of the Treasurer's Report will show that six of our Resident Members have commuted their Annual Assessments. These Commutations have been funded, as is provided in the By-Laws; and the interest alone from this fund is applicable to current expenses. The estimate of income which can be used to meet current expenditures next year is nine hundred and forty dollars from assessments and a few dollars additional from the interest on this fund. It was stated in the last Annual Report that the Council had transferred one hundred dollars from the free cash in the treasury, to a permanent Publication Fund, and it was recommended that a similar course should be pursued each year. Following this suggestion, one hundred and fifty dollars were transferred this year from the free cash in the Treasury to this fund. The opportunity to increase the amount arose from the delay in bringing out Volume II. of the Publications. While the Council point to the growth of this fund as an evidence of what we can do even with our limited means, still we must bear in mind that so much as we propose to transfer in this way must each year be deducted from our estimated free income. If therefore we should next year transfer one hundred dollars, it would make the net income from ordinary sources applicable to expenses a little over eight hundred and forty dollars, a sum scarcely adequate for our purposes.

If we turn now to the future and ask what are the needs of the Society, in order that it shall continue the work which has so advantageously been set in motion, the answer will be that the first and most pressing want is a Publication Fund. Last year we reported that six hundred and forty-five dollars had been contributed by voluntary subscription to be applied in payment for printing Volumes I. and II. During the year covered by this report there has been one unsolicited gift of twenty-five dollars for the same purpose, but no attempt has been made to secure money by subscription. It has seemed, therefore, desirable to call the attention of the Society to the field of work open to its members, through which the usefulness of the organization can be enlarged and its fame increased, in order that the need for such a Fund may be fully comprehended.

There are, at the State House, two hundred and forty-four

volumes of miscellaneous papers of historical interest, arranged by Dr. Joseph B. Felt, and known as the Massachusetts Archives. They have been much used by historians, and facility of access to their contents has been greatly increased by the preparation of a written chronological index, in seven volumes. The publication of this index would be of great public benefit; this, however, is a work which not only is beyond the means of this Society, but is a positive duty of the Commonwealth. In calling attention to the fact that knowledge of the contents of the Archives can only be obtained by going to the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth it was not the purpose of the Council to suggest that the Society should publish this index, but simply to point out that members engaged in topical researches at the State House, might furnish for publication descriptive calendars of such documents as they should encounter in the Archives. These, if published, would open up to distant readers a knowledge of the character of information which can there be obtained in the special field under investigation.

Felt, in his Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency, has performed a work somewhat analogous to that which is herein referred to. Notwithstanding the many defects of this volume, it has a value to the non-resident student of history or economics who is dealing with Massachusetts finance, which makes it indispensable. It does not, however, purport to be a complete key to the Archives, even upon the topic to which it is limited, nor has the subject ever been exhaustively treated. Let us suppose that this Society stood ready to publish full descriptive calendars of the papers to be found in the Archives relating to any topic. See what a field there is in the single subject which has just been mentioned. The various papers relating to the mint and the laws regulating the rates at which foreign silver should pass would perhaps prove attractive to one student; the several issues of the Province, which at first were for the most part mere attempts to anticipate the taxes of the year, through the various stages of their growth in quantity and in length of term, including the attempts to furnish individuals with loans of Province Notes on the security of mortgages on their homes and farms, might be selected by another. The fluctuations of these various issues are partially revealed through legislation on the subject, and these laws if specially calendared

could be studied to advantage. The various propositions for Banks of Issue, beginning as early as 1652, re-appearing in 1686, and again in more complete form in 1701; formally presented in the shape of a matured scheme in 1714; and occasionally cropping out thereafter from time to time in the shape of individual propositions, until in 1733 a combination of merchants in Boston issued what were known as Merchants' Notes; the whole culminating in 1740 in the rival schemes known as the Silver Bank and the Land Bank, — furnish another field on which more light should be thrown. A descriptive calendar of the papers in the Archives which relate to the extraordinary enterprise known as the Land Bank of 1740 would in all probability comprise at least one hundred and fifty separate entries; and if any attempt were made to treat the subject with the fulness to which it is entitled, by grouping with an account of the papers in the Archives a similar description of the entries at the Registries of Deeds and of the papers on the Court Files, this subject alone would fill a volume. Upwards of a thousand citizens were partners in the concern. Whatever the merits and whatever the absurdities of the scheme, there was no reason for supposing, when it was propounded, that the venture which these people were about to enter upon was in any aspect illegal. A majority of the representatives were at that time friendly to the experiment, and yet after the passage by Parliament of the extraordinary Act which asserted that the transaction came within the scope of the Bubble Act, legislation was secured for the closing of the Land Bank and the adjustment of its concerns almost equal, in its disregard of the rights of the delinquent parties, to the Act of Parliament itself in obedience to which these steps were taken. Many persons suffered great hardship from the arbitrary enforcement of these harsh and unusual proceedings. The feeling that was aroused was intense and lasting, and undoubtedly had great influence upon the subsequent course of many public men in Massachusetts. Those were strong words which John Adams used when he said, "The Act to destroy the Land Bank scheme raised a greater ferment in this Province than the Stamp Act did;" yet there can be no doubt that they were true. Where will you turn to find other than brief and encyclopedic accounts of this remarkable experiment, which in its various phases is of interest to students of history, of finance, of economics, and of politics?

The early records of Harvard College have not been published, nor is it likely that the College will ever print them. Quincy selected many extracts from Books I. and III., but he did not make public a single entry from among the many with which the first book teems, relating to the vanished building constructed with Harvard's bequest. The account-books of Treasurer Richards were described by Mr. Sibley, but he made no mention of the significant entries of which illustrations are contained in the published Transactions of our January meeting. The Steward's account-books in early times have been described in print, but a mere description of their contents is not what economists want. Their pages contain a record of the prices of provisions for a long series of years, which is of inestimable value and ought not to be permitted longer to remain in obscurity.

The Town Records and the Records of the First Church of Cambridge have never been printed. It is to be hoped that the example of Boston and of so many of the smaller places near that city will inspire Cambridge to perform this obvious duty; but if for reasons of economy the city government should hesitate to assume an expenditure of this nature, for which there is no immediate, pressing necessity, perhaps they would co-operate with some society like this in the performance of that work.

There still remain unpublished the records of many of the smaller towns, the establishment of which dates back to an early period of our history. Thanks to efforts in that behalf, these records are better cared for to-day than ever before, but such is not the case with many of the records of the early churches. These latter documents rank with the town records themselves in value for historical purposes. Adequate care has never been taken of them. They are generally to be found in the homes of clerks of parishes, or of ministers, subject to all sorts of contingencies at the hands of forgetful men and irresponsible children. A member of the Council, in search last summer of information contained in the records of one of the early churches of the Colony, after having run down the house in which they were temporarily lodged and the trunk in which they were deposited, himself saw a young child seize and tear across its face, a page of the very record which he had travelled so far and taken such pains to consult. It is the imperative duty of societies like

our own to do what they can to preserve knowledge of the contents of records subject to contingencies of this sort, by securing their publication at an early date.

Other fields have been pointed out to the Council in which the income of a Publication Fund could be applied with credit to the Society and advantage to the public; but enough has been said to show that there are abundant opportunities for the use of such a fund. The multiplication of examples might weary the Society, but would not add force to what has already been said. If funds can be secured to enable us to accomplish a part only of that which has been already suggested, the Society will be recognized as a public benefactor, and its fame will be permanently established.

The second want of the Society is a habitation. It is one of the peculiarities of the statutes of this Commonwealth that the Certificate of Incorporation of a Society like our own does not designate its place of abode or business. We have always held our meetings in Boston, but there is nothing in our By-Laws that compels us to do so. Our President is not a resident of Boston. Our Corresponding Secretary is not a resident of Boston. The Society has not even a Box in the Post Office; nor is it in any official sense entitled to a Post-Office address. It seems to the Council as if the time had already come when the Society ought to assert itself and secure a temporary habitation, where letters and papers addressed to the Society could be left, and where books and packages could be delivered. Such a room or office ought to be in a building which is not especially exposed to fire, and ought to have in it a vault in which the books, papers, and memorials of the Society could be deposited. Until this can be accomplished there can be no feeling that the Society is a permanent institution, nor can its members take a just and proper pride in its work.

The statement of the needs of the Society which has just been set forth in this Report is made in response to repeated questions put to members of the Council by different members of the Society. The Publication Fund has been placed first in order, because the Council believe that when members see that the work of the Society is creditable, they will not permit it long to remain without some sort of a habitation. The temptation is strong to reverse

the order, because until we have some fire-proof vault in which we can store valuable documents we cannot hope to have them deposited with us; but on the whole the Council have concluded to present these wants in the order in which they have been named to you, for the reasons above given. It would not be inconsistent with the dignity and character of the Society if each of these funds were twenty-five thousand dollars; nor when we look at the amount of money at the disposal of some of the older societies engaged in analogous work, need we despair of seeing in our treasury, at an early day, adequate provision for our wants in each of these directions. We have a right to build our hopes upon the experience of others. Such loyalty to the Society as shall furnish liberal provision for its needs can only be aroused by admiration for its work and faith in its permanence. The Council believe that when the first volume of our Publications shall be placed before the public, its reception will be grateful to the members of the Society. Of this they would have felt even more confident if they could promise that among the resources of the forthcoming volumes would be found a paper based upon the interesting remarks on various untilled fields of historical research, made at our last Annual Dinner by a distinguished fellow-member of the Society, and if we could have been permitted to incorporate in our published Transactions, precisely as delivered, the learned dissertation upon court practice in colonial times, with which we were, on the same occasion, instructed and entertained by another of our members. It is not too late for this to be accomplished, and perhaps these gentlemen will be moved by the appeal which the Council now makes to all members to aid during the coming year in making the proceedings at our meetings of interest. All must bear in mind that the Society has not yet got beyond what was termed in last year's Report laying the foundation-stones upon which our fame must ultimately rest, and that the character and tone of our meetings must be maintained if we would make permanent the esteem in which the Society is already held by the public.

The Reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were then presented. They are as follows: —

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report, made up to 15 November, 1894.

While the amount of the funds belonging to the Society is small, the foundation has been laid of a prudent and conservative plan for permanently investing each year some part of its income, as has been foreshadowed in the Report of the Council which has just been read. On the fourth of December, 1893, the Council took action as follows: —

Voted, That the fund now amounting to Two hundred dollars, of which Mr. Shaw's gift was the nucleus, be called the Publication Fund.

Voted, That the five Commutations now in the Treasurer's hands be made the nucleus of a foundation to be hereafter known as the General Fund; and that all future Commutations be credited to it as they are received.

The Council has also set apart from the current income of the Society the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars, which has been added to the Publication Fund; and the interest which has accrued has been separated from the other moneys belonging to the Society, apportioned between the two Funds, and deposited in a Savings Bank.

It is pleasant to note that the publication of our first Serial prompted one of our members to send to the Treasurer his check for twenty-five dollars toward the cost of continuing the work of printing our Transactions. Such contributions, made without solicitation, are not only acceptable as financial aid but are gratifying to the Committee of Publication.

In accordance with the suggestion of a member of the Auditing Committee of last year, the Council passed the following vote, 4 December, 1893: —

Voted, That Mr. William H. Hart be appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer and to report in writing annually to the Auditing Committee of the Society.

The Funds of the Society, which have more than doubled since the last Annual Meeting, are invested as follows: —

$500. in a 6% Mortgage, payable principal and interest in gold coin, on improved real estate in Cambridge assessed for $5,100;
450. in a 5% Mortgage, payable principal and interest in gold coin, on improved real estate in Charlestown assessed for $1,000;
85.53 deposited in the Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank.

The following is an abstract of the Accounts, and a Trial Balance of the books on 15 November, 1894: —

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance 21 November, 1893		$968.90
Initiation Fees	$230.00	
Annual Assessments	710.00	
Commutations of Annual Assessment from three members	300.00	
Interest	54.88	
Voluntary Contribution from a member toward the cost of our Publications	25.00	$1,319.88
		$2,288.78

EXPENDITURES AND INVESTMENT.

University Press, Printing	$926.47	
Heliotype Printing Company	86.83	
Suffolk Engraving Company	28.58	
John H. Daniels and Son, Plate Printing	11.90	
Clerical Service	57.00	
Record Books and Stationery	46.73	
Miscellaneous incidentals	524.17	$1,681.68
Mortgage on improved Real Estate in Charlestown assessed for $1,000 due in five years from 8 January, 1894, at 5% both principal and interest payable in gold coin		450.00
Deposit in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank; accrued interest belonging to the permanent Funds		85.53
Balance on deposit in Third National Bank of Boston, 15 November, 1894		71.57
		$2,288.78

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	$71.57	
Mortgages	950.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank Deposit-Book No. 41,613	85.53	
		$1,107.10

CREDITS.

Income	$71.57	
Publication Fund	380.55	
General Fund	654.98	
		$1,107.10

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, 21 November, 1894.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts for the year ending 15 November, 1894, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us.

EDWARD W. HOOPER,
A. HEMENWAY,
Committee.

BOSTON, 15 November, 1894.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. CHARLES F. CHOATE, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented the following list of candidates, who were unanimously elected: —

PRESIDENT.

BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

JOHN LOWELL.
WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

TREASURER.

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

REGISTRAR.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS.

FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.

Mr. CHOATE, on behalf of the Nominating Committee, offered the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted: —

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Professor JAMES BRADLEY THAYER, the retiring member of the Council, for the encouragement and assistance which he has given to his fellow councillors, and for the cheerful and ready manner in which he has always responded to their appeals for advice.

After the dissolution of the meeting dinner was served to the members. Dr. GOULD presided, the Rev. Dr. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT invoked the Divine blessing, and speeches were made by Lieut.-Governor WOLCOTT, the Hon. EDWARD J. PHELPS, the Hon. CHARLES W. CLIFFORD, Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL, Jr., and the Hon. GEORGE S. HALE. There were no invited guests.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1894.

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on Wednesday, 19 December, 1894, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President in the chair.

The minutes of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. John Noble announced the incorporation of The Society of the War of 1812 in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.[1]

Mr. Robert N. Toppan said: —

It is not often remembered, and to many it is not known, that the American colonists had friends in England at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. One faction of the Whig party looked upon the resistance of the Colonies to the arbitrary measures of the royal government with favorable eyes. This friendly feeling was, however, almost entirely destroyed upon the publication of the Declaration of Independence, as was natural, for by that declaration a new Nation was formed.

In Bancroft's History of the United States (IV. 560), under the date of 1775, will be found the following interesting statement: —

"The Society for Constitutional Information, after a special meeting on the seventh of June, raised a hundred pounds, 'to be applied,' said they, 'to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were for that reason only inhu-

[1] This Society was chartered 10 September, 1894. Its object is "to perpetuate the memories of the men who completed the work of the Revolution, in upholding the principles of the Nation against Great Britain in the conflict known as the war of 1812; to collect and secure for preservation rolls, records, books, and documents relating to that period, and to encourage research, and publication of the same; to foster true patriotism, and to cherish, maintain, and extend the institutions of American freedom."

manely murdered by the King's troops at Lexington and Concord.' Other sums were added; and an account of what had been done was laid before the world by Horne Tooke in the 'Public Advertiser.' For this publication three printers were fined one hundred pounds each."

In the Massachusetts Archives (CIV. 658) the following is to be found: —

"Order for a Committee to receive money from England sent to the wounded in the battle of Lexington, and the widows and children of those slain." [Index.]

In Council Octob^r 25th 1775.

Ordered that Honble Mr Whetcomb, Mr Prescott, Mr Holton & Mr White with such as the Honble House shall join, be a Committee to receive of the Honble Benjamin Franklin Esq; one hundred pounds sterling, sent by several charitable Persons in England for the relief of those who were wounded in the battle at Lexington, and of the widows & children of those who were then slain; Dr Franklin having expressed his readiness to pay the said sum to such persons as shall be appointed to receive it, The Committee to dispose of the said monies according to the best of their discretion, & to make return of their doings therein to this Court.

Sent down for Concurrence

PEREZ MORTON *Dp^y^ Sec^y^*.

In the house of Representatives Oct 25. 1775.

Read and concurr'd and Maj^r^ Hawley, Mr Devans, Col^o^ Barret, Mr Stone of Lexington and Mr Dix are joyn'd.

Sent up

J. WARREN *Spk^r^*

Consented to.

JAMES OTIS
B. GREENLEAF
CALEB CUSHING
J. WINTHROP
B. CHADBOURN
JOSEPH GERRISH
JED^H^ FOSTER
JOHN WHETCOMB
JAMES PRESCOTT
B: LINCOLN
M. FARLEY
CHA. CHAUNCY
J: PALMER
JABEZ FISHER
B. WHITE

Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated, and read large extracts from, an exhaustive treatise on the Massachusetts Election Sermons. It was written by Mr. Lindsay Swift of the Boston Public Library, who offered it for the acceptance of the Society. A vote of thanks to Mr. Swift for this valuable and interesting gift was unanimously adopted.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMONS.

ON Wednesday, 7 January, 1885, the General Court of Massachusetts met to organize; the two branches of the Legislature chose their presiding and other officers, and then adjourned to the next day. In obedience to an Act passed, on 6 March, 1884, "To repeal the Public Statutes relating to the Annual Election Sermon," [1] there was omitted from the ceremonies incident to the day an ancient custom, without the observance of which the legislators of earlier days would not have had the temerity to begin their public duties. For some years previously, the delivery of the sermon had been tacitly acknowledged to have been persevered in more through respect for honorable precedent than as a sincere expression of the religious and political spirit of the age; accordingly this last slight interdependence in the Commonwealth between Church and State had few to mourn its extinction, with the exception perhaps of some persistent admirers of the *tempus actum*.

In common with all that falls into disuse, the Election Sermon will soon survive only in the memory of a few, and therefore an attempt is here made to collect whatever may prove of popular or antiquarian interest concerning so venerable an observance. Listening to sermons is not infrequently dry work, and reading about sermons may be still drier; notwithstanding this, the present subject is so interwoven with the literature and the political concerns of Massachusetts during its entire history as Colony, Province, Colony, State, and Commonwealth, that it cannot be devoid of value, though the narrative may be arid indeed. Macaulay once said that nobody had ever read the whole of the "Faerie Queene;" since this statement many, through sheer persistency,

[1] Acts and Resolves, 1884, chap. 60.

have pushed through that meritorious but extended poem, as if it were a sort of feat which they had been dared to perform. Will any one take the assertion as a challenge, when I admit that I have read with more or less care every one of these sermons known to have been printed — more than two hundred in number? In all probability the Rev. John Pierce and the late Mr. John Wingate Thornton were conversant with the contents of most of these discourses. Both were collectors of Election Sermons, and to them, as well as to others who have taken an interest in this subject, due acknowledgment will be made.

What, then, was the Annual Election Sermon, so dear to the past, yet abolished in a fit of spleen, as it were, after two hundred and fifty years of observance?

Precisely how this custom originated will probably never be known. The Massachusetts Colony Records and Winthrop's Journal are all the sources of information which we have, or are likely to have, and the memoranda therein contained are scant. It is, however, certain that there was no sermon between 1628 and 1630, for the patent and government of the Plantation were not transferred to America until 1630, when the Records of the Governor and Company begin.[1] Although the Assistants and Deputies met for election, as by charter appointed, as early as 1630, there is no mention of any attendant religious ceremony until 1634. Thornton says: "The origin of this anniversary is to be found in the charter . . . which provided that 'one governor, one deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, and all other officers of the said companie,' — not of the colony, — should be chosen in their 'general court, or assemblie,' on 'the last Wednesday in Easter Terme, yearely, for the yeare ensuing.'"[2] On 14 May, 1634, the General Court assembled. John Winthrop had been chosen Governor up to this time, and it was now thought that possibly his re-election was in danger. John Cotton accordingly preached a political sermon, urging strongly that Winthrop should again be chosen. Whether his hearers did not relish a minister's interference with politics, or whether at that early day Cæsarism was felt to be a menace, Mr. Cotton's effort failed of its desired result, and Thomas Dudley was chosen Governor. Although this effort of Cotton's may be con-

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 73.

[2] Thornton's Pulpit of the American Revolution, p. xxiii.

sidered to have been a regular Election Sermon, it would appear that it was preached before the votes were thrown, whereas the sermon was usually delivered after the choice was made, and was addressed to the outgoing administration.

Cotton Mather, who calls Cotton a "walking library," says: "The good Spirit of God, by that Sermon, had a mighty Influence upon all Ranks of Men, in the Infant Plantation; who from this time carried on their Affairs, with a new Life, Satisfaction, and Unanimity."[1] Hutchinson speaks of the sermon (but by mistake putting it a year later) as one which "carried the point against the plebeians," that is, the Deputies, who were in favor of the removal of Hooker to Connecticut.[2]

Mr. Henry H. Edes, without the help of whose list of Election Sermons, published in 1871 in connection with Grinnell's sermon for that year, I should never have made my present attempt, is probably mistaken in giving the text of Cotton's May sermon as Haggai ii. 4. On 24 August of the same year, however, Cotton did preach from that text, to the evident gratification of Winthrop and the Court.[3]

I have described at some length the inauguration of the custom by Cotton; it was henceforth continued, as the Rev. Albert Barnes writes, in "a belief that religion and law were closely connected."[4] Inasmuch as the compilers of previous lists of the Election Sermons have not sought to describe the earlier discourses, but have furnished only the names of the preachers, their residences, the colleges at which they graduated, and the texts of their sermons, I shall make no apology for entering somewhat fully into the early history of this subject, especially since I am really breaking new ground, no effort having until now been made, in print, to discover what sermons were actually delivered and printed, and what delivered and not printed.

[1] Magnalia (edition of 1702), Book iii. p. 21. Mather may refer here to the sermon which Cotton preached on 24 August.

[2] History of Massachusetts-Bay (edition of 1764), i. 45.

[3] Winthrop's Journal (edition of 1853), i. 168.

[4] See "Election Sermons," a disappointing article, by Barnes in the "Christian Spectator," vol. x. It is merely a review of some Connecticut and New Hampshire sermons, in which the reverend reviewer finds "an occasion for offering some considerations on the influence of religion and law."

If there were sermons in 1635 and 1636, we have no record of them. In 1637, Thomas Shepard, whom Captain Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence," calls "that "gratious sweete Heavenly minded, and soule-ravishing Minister," [1] is known to have preached, but from what text has not been ascertained. The Rev. John Wheelwright had just been adjudged guilty of sedition for inveighing, at last Fast, "against all that walked in a covenant of works." [2] Preaching before the conflicting factions in this affair, Shepard, "at the day of election, brought them yet nearer, so as, except men of good understanding, and such as knew the bottom of the tenents of those of the other party, few could see where the difference was." [3]

We must infer that Shepard's preaching was both powerful and convincing from an incident which Winthrop mentions of one Turner of Charlestown who was so "wounded in conscience" at a sermon by Shepard that he "drowned himself in a little pit where was not above two feet water." [4] The next year, 1638, Shepard preached again, and this sermon is the first of which we have anything like a full text. By one of those happy discoveries which sometimes gladden the historian's heart, Mr. John Ward Dean was so fortunate as to fall upon a skeleton of this interesting discourse, in manuscript, which he published in October, 1870.[5] Both Mr. Dean and Mr. Edes give satisfactory accounts of it. It was preached a year after the defeat of Vane and his party, and the text "Then sayd all the trees to the Bramble raine ouer vs" [6] indicates plainly the line of thought. Shepard speaks of the "multitude" choosing a bad governor, and advises "W^{n} brambles do appeare call for hatchets do not deale gently it will prick you." The conservatism of the clergy had begun to show itself in such a sermon as this, which attests the truth of what Samuel Stone ("Doctor irrefragabiles," Cotton Mather must add) said of the government of Congregationalism, that "it was a speaking Aristocracy in the Face of a silent Democracy." [7] This Democracy was, however, soon to become audible even in regard to these very Election Sermons.

[1] Johnson's Wonder-working Providence (Poole's edition, 1867), p. 77.
[2] Winthrop's Journal, i. 256. [3] *Ibid.* i. 264. [4] *Ibid.* ii. 73.
[5] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 361–366.
[6] Judges, ix. 14, 15. [7] Magnalia, Book iii. p. 118.

To return a moment to Shepard's sermon. It is noteworthy that Ezra Stiles, in a letter to Hutchinson, writes, "I have also a copy of the Election Sermon preached by the minister of Cambridge, I think, Mr. Shepard, when Mr. Vane was dropped." [1] Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull is of the opinion that the manuscript from which President Stiles's copy was extracted was probably written out from the short-hand notes of some hearer. Mr. Dean believes it possible that the sermon may have been preached the day after the Court met.

The preachers for 1639 and 1640 are not known.

Although the Magistrates and the Deputies still sat together, and continued to do so until 1644, there are already evidences of misunderstandings. An increasing friction is plainly discoverable in Winthrop's ample account of Nathaniel Ward's sermon for 1641.[2] Ward was the famous Simple Cobbler of Agawam who drew up the "Body of Liberties," [3] and espoused the popular side as his sermon plainly shows.

Barry draws largely upon Winthrop regarding Ward's sermon in 1641, and Rogers's in 1643, to show that the colonists were by this time "a race of politicians." "As in the army of Xenophon, so in Massachusetts, boundless liberty of speech was indulged; and the magistrates and the clergy . . . were as earnest as any." [4]

No sermon is known to have been preached in 1642; perhaps the town of Boston was in too excitable a condition to listen, for its public temper had now waxed warm over the famous 'Sow business,' — a mighty matter in its day. The supposed unlawful seizure of a stray sow, by Captain Robert Keayne, later the town's benefactor, from the keeping of a poor woman, served to widen the division between plebeians and patricians. We may fairly infer, then, that in his Election Sermon for 1643, Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley was fostering that "democratical spirit which acts our deputies," [5] when he earnestly sought to dissuade them from re-electing the good Winthrop.

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 162.

[2] Winthrop's Journal, ii. 42; quoted also in Lechford's Plain Dealing (Trumbull's edition), p. 68.

[3] Printed in 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 191.

[4] History of Massachusetts, i. 329–332.

[5] Winthrop's Journal, ii. 141.

Cotton Mather may have had Rogers's sermon in mind when he said that "Sermons were Preached at the Anniversary Court of Election, to disswade the Freemen from chusing One Man Twice together."[1]

Although Rogers's appeal was unsuccessful (for Winthrop was again elected), yet he had shown that he stood for the claimant of the sow, one Sherman's wife, as against Captain Keayne, who was "accounted a rich man, and she a poor woman." This all may seem trivial now, but it was not so in fact, and the sermon was important on this account alone; at least Cotton Mather seemed to think so, when he wrote, "though the Occasion and the Auditory were *Great*, yet he shew'd his Abilities to be *Greater;* insomuch, that he became famous through the whole Country."[2]

In the "Massachusetts Colony Records" is an interesting entry relating to the year 1643–4: "Mr Madder to bee desired to p̃pare himselfe to p̃ach to ye assembly at ye next Co^{r}t of Election."[3] A little further is a still more interesting minute: "It is ordered, the printer shall have leave to print the election sermon, wth Mr Mathers consent, & the artillery sermon, wth Mr Nortons consent."[4]

This "Mr. Madder" was of course, Richard, grandfather of Cotton Mather, who calls him one of the "angelical men," or, anagrammatically, "a third charmer." Curiously enough, the pedantic grandson praises Richard Mather for a chariness of "Citation of Latine Sentences." Cotton Mather, in his sermon on Higginson in 1709, calls John Higginson's sermon for 1663 the "*First-Born* by the way of the Press, of all the *Election Sermons* that we have in our Libraries;" thus showing that he did not know that Richard Mather's sermon was printed, if indeed it ever was.[5]

Permission by the Court to print was not a simple act of courtesy, for it is well understood that there was a censorship of the press; even as late as 1669 the printing of Thomas à Kempis's "De Imitatione" was inhibited, that work being written by a "Popish minister;"[6] and I have noted that Shepard's sermon in 1672 bears the *imprimatur* of Urian Oakes and John Sherman.

[1] Magnalia, Book ii. p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.* Book iii. p. 102.
[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 62.
[4] *Ibid.* ii. 71.
[5] See note by Dr. George H. Moore in Historical Magazine, February, 1867, p. 116.
[6] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part ii. p. 424.

Furthermore the expense of printing was probably not borne by the public. This was the opinion of the late Dr. George H. Moore,[1] who seemed to know of evidence extant "that the painful preacher had to depend upon the liberality of some of the pious 'persons of worth' for the preservation of his sermons in type." Printed or not, Mather's sermon is in all probability lost to us.

The old trouble between the Magistrates and Deputies broke out again, and more violently, in 1645. Barry says, "The most exciting discussions, however, were between the Magistrates and the Deputies. One of these related to the appointment of the court preachers. At first, such appointments were made by the Assistants; but when the House of Deputies was established, they claimed the appointing power."[2] The importance attached by contemporaries to a matter apparently so simple as the choice of an election preacher, is shown by the space given by Winthrop in his Journal to the dispute between the Deputies, who had chosen Mr. Norton, and the Magistrates and Governor, who had chosen Mr. Norris of Salem.[3]

Mr. Norton, the choice of the popular body, did preach, no doubt to the sorrow of men like Winthrop, who may at this juncture have felt with Richard Saltonstall that such things were a "sinful innovation." The result of all this trouble was that, beginning with the year 1646, the preachers were chosen on alternate years by the Magistrates and Deputies. It appears that Edward Norris of Salem, the choice of the magistrates under the new arrangement, preached, and that the Court was "carried on with much peace and good correspondency; and when the business was near ended, the magistrates and deputies met, and concluded what remained, and so departed in much love."[4] There is no reason to doubt Winthrop's accuracy, but it is worth noting that, according to the Colony Records, Nathaniel Rogers was chosen by the Deputies.[5] I am inclined to think, and I believe it was the opinion of Dr.

[1] Manuscript note now in Boston Public Library.

[2] History of Massachusetts, i. 331.

[3] Winthrop's Journal, ii. 268.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 316.

[5] Itt being the time & turne of ye Deput^ts^ for to choose & appointe ye ministe^r^ to p^r^each the se^r^mon at ye next Cou^r^te of Elecc̄on, they chose & desired Mr Nathaniell Roge^r^s, of Ipswich, to p^r^each ye next elecc̄on sermon. (Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 80.)

Moore, that Rogers should be assigned to the year 1647; if this supposition is correct, a blank in Mr. Edes's list is filled. My reason is, of course, that the Magistrates having, without question, had their choice in 1646, the next year's choice belonged by right to the Deputies.

In 1648, Zechariah Symmes of Charlestown preached, and although we have not his sermon, the loss is not, in this busy age, much to be deplored, for Captain Johnson says that this remarkable man on one occasion "continued in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five houres." [1] His fecundity was not confined to the pulpit, for he was the father of thirteen children. To quote Johnson again, he was a "reverend and painfull minister," and according to Mather, "a *Sufferer* for what he preach'd." [2] Nor has the sermon of Thomas Cobbett, who preached in 1649, survived. Cobbett was, however, requested to print. "Itt was voted, that Mr Speaker, in the name of the Howse of Deputyes, should render Mr Cobbett the thankes of the howse for his worthy paines in his sermon, w^ch^, at the desire of this howse, he preached on the day of elec̃on, & declare to him it is their desire he would print it heere or elsuhere." [3]

Between the years 1650 and 1655, inclusive, there is a lamentable gap. During these and earlier years, it is probable that sermons were delivered, and we may suppose that prominent men were chosen to preach. During the last years of the observance of this custom, ministers not always of the first importance were honored by an invitation to preach, but in the early days no inferior names are found upon the list. Jonathan Mitchel may have preached at this period. Of him I shall speak presently.

In 1656, "M^r^. Charles Chauncey, præsident of Harvard Colledg, is desired to preach before the Gennerall Court on the next election day." [4] His sermon was not, I think, one of his "printed composures."

Although he had been the "people's choice" in 1645, John Norton again preached in 1657,[5] and for the third time in 1661.

[1] Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, p. 178.

[2] Magnalia, Book ii. p. 131.

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 148.

[4] *Ibid.* iv. Part i. 254.

[5] In a copy of Oakes's sermon for 1673, which belonged to Samuel Sewall, is a manuscript memorandum, which, Sewall says, was "taken out of Grand-

It is a misfortune that Jonathan Mitchel's sermon for 1658 does not exist, for we are assured in the "Magnalia" that his utterance has a "becoming tunableness and vivacity," although his sermons "smelt of the lamp." Mather further speaks of his preaching "as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant Voice;" but, unhappily, we learn later that he "soon grew extream Fat."[1] Sibley, in his "Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University," does not mention this sermon of 1658. As a political orator, Mitchel must be judged by his later sermon of 1667. There is a possibility that he may have preached before 1657, for Mather says "His *Great Worth* caused him to be called forth several times with an *Early* and *Special* Respect from the *General Court* of the Colony, to preach on the Greatest Solemnity that the Colony afforded; Namely, *The Anniversary Election of Governour and Magistrates.*"[2] Potent, indeed, must have been his exhorting, if the lines of F[rancis?] Drake[3] are to be taken seriously: —

> "The *Quaker* trembling at his *Thunder* fled;
> And with *Caligula* resum'd his Bed."[4]

John Eliot preached in 1659; this fact alone is all that seems to be known of his sermon. In 1660 Richard Mather again preached; and although there is no direct evidence that the sermon was printed, yet in Mitchel's sermon for 1667 is an allusion to it, in which the text and a part of the substance are quoted, as follows: —

"So of old in the Wilderness, *Psal.* 77. 20. Which Text of Scripture we heard well improved in a Sermon on the like occasion now Seven years ago; wherein it was said, That that was the Thirtieth year currant that God had given us godly *Magistrates:* if so, this is the Thirty seventh year currant, wherein we have enjoyed that mercy. Whereupon

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father Hull's Character Book of several that did preach the Artillery and Election sermons," in which Mr. Flint is set down as preacher in 1657, and Mr. Ward as preacher in 1660. Neither of these names seems to be correct, yet this memorandum as a whole, no doubt, has been important in determining some of the preachers. It is in the Prince collection, now in the Boston Public Library.

[1] Magnalia, Book iv. 184. [2] *Ibid.* Book iv. 182.

[3] I have been unable to identify this "F. Drake," and only offer the bracketed name as a suggestion.

[4] Magnalia, Book iv. 185.

it was then solemnly added (by that Reverend Servant of God who then Preached) That the Sun shines not upon an happier people than we are in regard of this mercy." [1]

This close following of Mather's words is itself good reason for supposing that Mitchel either saw a printed or a manuscript copy, or else that he possessed an excellent memory or a well-kept diary.

With the year 1660 end the dark ages of the Election Sermon. During twenty-seven years, 1634–1660 inclusive, fifteen sermons are known to have been preached by twelve different persons, and of these fifteen not one is known to have been printed, although the Cambridge press had been running since 1640. Two of the preachers, we are sure, were asked to print; but as this seems only to imply that the printing was as yet a private venture, it is probable that it was not undertaken in either case.

John Norton's "Sion the Out-cast healed of her Wounds," preached in 1661, and printed in his "Three Choice and Profitable sermons" (Cambridge, 1664), was, it is usual to say, the first Election Sermon which was printed. While it was first in the chronological series of sermons to be printed, it was not actually the first to be sent to the press. That distinction belongs to John Higginson's for 1663, which appeared the same year in which it was delivered. Norton's effort is one of the most eccentric of the many curious productions in this long series. He himself calls it "a Divine Plaister for a Sin-sick Out-cast;" [2] and, carrying out his pathological metaphor, he says, "God will apply a sanative Cataplasm, an healing Plaster." [3] As in the case of the probably accidental "dissemble or cloak," or the "acknowledge and confess" of the Book of Common Prayer, he here uses pedantic Latin and common English in parallelisms. His tropes were often pushed to the extreme limits of good taste, as when he says "that Davids tears fall into Gods bottle, is matter of joy." [4] A merit of the sermon, not common to most of its kind in this era, is its brevity.

Nothing is known of the sermon for 1662.

"The Cause of God and his People in New-England," by Higginson, also a meritoriously brief performance, was delivered and

[1] Mitchel's "Nehemiah on the Wall," p. 23.

[2] Norton's "Sion the Out-cast," p. 1. [3] *Ibid.* p. 2. [4] *Ibid.* p. 6.

printed in 1663, and is, beyond doubt, what Cotton Mather, in 1709, said it was, "the *first born*, by way of the press, of all the *Election Sermons*, that we have in our libraries." It is, as a matter of course, strong in favor of Non-toleration; nor does its author fail to remind his hearers "that *New-England is originally a plantation of Religion, not a plantation of Trade.* Let Merchants and such as are increasing *Cent per Cent* remember this."[1] This sentence shows him to have been the vigorous preacher to whose virtues Nicholas Noyes, in his Elegy, bears testimony: —

> "Young to the Pulpit he did get,
> And Seventy Two Years in 't did sweat."[2]

For the third and last time Richard Mather, in 1664, preached before the Court of Elections; he could have had none of the fondness for appearing in print on the least pretext, so prominent in his son Increase and grandson Cotton, for he seems again to have failed to commit his sermon to the press.

The sermons of John Russell for 1665, and of Thomas Cobbett for 1666, were not printed, so far as can be discovered. Russell was, I believe, a Baptist, then preaching at Hadley, and it may be that his sermon came under the ban of a rigid sectarian censorship. Sibley says of Russell, "in 1665 he preached the Massachusetts Election Sermon from Psalm cxii. 6[3]: probably not published."[4] In Russell's house at Hadley, Whalley and Goffe lived for some years.

The text of Cobbett's sermon is referred to in Mitchel's sermon for the next year as 2 Chronicles xv. 2.

Jonathan Mitchel's sermon for 1667[5] was not printed until 1671, after his death. It is one of the great sermons of those days, and is particularly "sound" against anabaptism, toleration, and Separatists. Increase Mather quotes from it approvingly in the preface to Torrey's discourse of 1674.

[1] Higginson's "The Cause of God . . .", p. 11.

[2] New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 239.

[3] Edes says from Psalm cxxii. 6. [4] Sibley's "Graduates," i. 117.

[5] The title is curious enough to give entire: "Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublesom Times; or, a Serious and Seasonable Improvement of that great Example of Magistratical Piety and Prudence, Self-denial and Tenderness, Fearlessness and Fidelity, unto Instruction and Encouragement of present and succeeding Rulers in our Israel."

At the election of 1668, a famous discourse was preached by William Stoughton, which was so well liked that the Governor himself presented to the preacher the thanks of the General Court, and a request to prepare it for the press.[1] It was printed in 1670. The printing was done at private expense, for in the Advertisement a "Person of Worth" is spoken of, who adventures "the publishing, of what the pious Author was well-nigh invincibly unwilling should ever have come forth."[2] It is strong intellectually, and contains many fine passages; one, in particular, impressed me, in which are rehearsed the sins of New England.[3] There appear to have been, to the *saeva indignatio* of Stoughton, few sins of which New England was then innocent, and the violence of his wrath bears out the statement in his epitaph that Stoughton was "Impietatis & Vitij Hostis Acerrimus."

There were two editions of Stoughton's sermon: the first edition has thirty-eight pages; and the second forty pages, of which the last two pages were in finer type. For the second edition the type was probably reset, though both were issued in the same year. An abridgment occupies a few pages of "Elijah's Mantle" (Boston, 1722; 1774), and selections are reprinted as appendixes to Prince's Election Sermon for 1730.

In this sermon occurs the famous saying of Stoughton, "God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice Grain over into this Wilderness." Longfellow no doubt had this in mind in the "Courtship of Miles Standish" when he says, "God had sifted three kingdoms to find wheat for this planting."

It is generally supposed that the sermon for 1669 by John Davenport — whom the Indians called "so big study man" — was never printed, but in the "Magnalia" I find the following: "Nor would I forget a Sermon of his on 2 Sam. 23, 3, at the Anniversary Court of Election at Boston, 1669, afterwards published."[4]

A good "doctrinal" sermon has always been a test of a preacher's ability in New England. But it seems to me, as I have reviewed this long stretch of years, in which over seven generations of clergy and laymen have lived, that the spirit of religion has persistently grown better, at least more refined. The early dis-

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. Part ii. 376.

[2] Stoughton's "New-England's True Interest," p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 20.

[4] Magnalia, Book iii. p. 56.

courses were full of ecclesiasticism, theology, and good politics, but of humanity, brotherly kindness, and what is now understood by Christianity, I have been able to discern very little. Nor is this hard to explain. The ministers then were important factors in society, and in many cases, by their great learning, and their social remoteness from their laity, inevitably had little in common with those among whom they most faithfully and earnestly labored.

In view of these facts, we can understand in what spirit Cotton Mather commends such a sermon as Samuel Danforth preached in 1670. To Mather, Danforth was eminent because he was "a notable *Text*-Man, and one who had more than Forty or Fifty *Scriptures* distinctly quoted in One Discourse."[1] The following metaphorical sentence from Danforth's sermon seems worth repeating: "Such as escape the *Lime-pit* of Pharisaical Hypocrisie, fall into the *Coal-pit* of Sadducean Atheism and Epicurism."[2]

The J. O. who preached in 1671 was John Oxenbridge, and his sermon is now exceedingly rare.

If it were possible or desirable to pick out the "best" from over two hundred sermons, I should be inclined to choose Thomas Shepard's famous "Eye-Salve" which he preached in 1672, and which is worth mentioning somewhat fully. There is no doubt that there is in it "*Constellated* . . . much Learning, Wisdom, Holiness and Faithfulness,"[3] but it also is, as Mr. Thornton wrote in his own copy, "of much historical interest and value." So many of its sentences have passed into our literary inheritance that it may well be held as an American classic. With Stoughton, Shepard is opposed to all false liberalism, as when he says: "'T is Satan's policy, to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration."[4] He is plainly paraphrasing Stoughton in an almost equally familiar sentence: "The Lord sowed this land at first with such precious seed-corn, as was pickt out of our whole Nation."[5] He calls Laud — at least Laud seems to be the person meant — a "Bear"[6] a "ravening wolf," and a "Fox."[7] The Quakers, always an object of animadversion in the Election Sermon, are the "brood of the

[1] Magnalia, Book iv. p. 154, § 5.
[2] Danforth's Election Sermon for 1670, p. 15.
[3] Magnalia, Book iv. p. 191, § 5.
[4] Shepard's "Eye-Salve," p. 14.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 12.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 13.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 13.

Serpent."[1] I must not forget to add that Shepard pleads nobly to have "Foundations laid for *Free-Schools*, where poor Scholars might be there educated by some Publick Stock."[2] The need of adequate schools, especially of "inferiour" schools, as they were called, was continually presented in these sermons, down to the middle of the last century.

A closely printed small quarto of seventy pages, comprises the sermon for 1673, by Urian Oakes, of whom it is said that he had been seen to turn his hour-glass four times during a service! He is not behind Shepard in hating toleration as the "first born of all Abominations," though "heartily for all due Moderation." It is clear that authors then had the same impressive modesty as now, for the address to the "Christian Reader" tells the old coy story that, by "the concurrent and importunate intreaties of very many his Brethren . . . he hath been at last prevailed with, to permit it to pass through the press." Cotton Mather, in saying of Oakes, "America never had a greater master of the true, pure Ciceronian Latin language," shows his pleasure at the use of such words as "succenturiation"[3] and "recidivation."[4] This Latinist could also use his mother tongue to good effect in hurling epithets at "wanton Gospellers," "giddy Professors," "petty Politicians," and "little creeping Statesmen" who busied themselves in "lying and calumniating men of piety worth and authority." His sermon was important, besides having, I believe, the longest title to be found in the whole array of Election Sermons.[5]

Sibley[6] says that Stoughton, Shepard, Oakes, and Torrey who preached in 1674, all exhibit in their Election sermons, "the prevalent clerical views of the day," and that "all of them have a bearing on religious toleration." By this time there was created

[1] Shepard's "Eye-Salve," p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 44.

[3] Oakes's "New-England Pleaded with," p. 19.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 36.

[5] "New-England Pleaded with, And pressed to consider the things which concern her Peace, at least in this her Day: Or, A Seasonable and Serious Word of faithful Advice to the Churches and People of God (primarily those) in the *Massachusets Colony;* musingly to Ponder, and bethink themselves, what is the Tendency, and will certainly be the sad Issue, of sundry unchristian and crooked wayes, which too too many have been turning aside unto, if persisted and gone on in."

[6] Sibley's "Graduates," i. p. 328.

in New England that inevitable class of thinkers who see the glory only of the past; for them there is no sunrise, it is always sunset. To Samuel Torrey, who was one of these painful preachers, the golden age of New England, though then dating back less than forty years, was gone forever. "Truly, so it is, the very heart of *New-England* is changed, and exceedingly corrupted with the sins of the Times: there is a Spirit of Profaneness, a Spirit of Pride, a Spirit of Worldliness, a Spirit of Sensuality, a Spirit of Gainsaying and Rebellion, a Spirit of Libertinism, a Spirit of Carnality, Formality, Hypocrisie, and Spiritual Idolatry in the Worship of God."[1] A rich crop of tares considering the preciousness of the "seed corn!" This was surely a wicked world in 1674 to contain so many evil "Spirits," yet good Mr. Torrey lingered in it long enough to preach two more Election sermons, one in 1683, and one in 1695, and died in 1707 at the ripe age of seventy-five. In his last sermon he was still taking a gloomy view and holding fast by the ministry as a forlorn hope. Yet there was in him a deep concern for the cure of souls, and his earnestness may have been as sincere as Carlyle's. At all events such men had none of that smug optimism of more recent years, which prompted a clergyman of this state, recently deceased, to pray to his Maker for "that self-complacency which is the balm of life."

Joshua Moody preached in 1675, and again in 1692; but neither of his sermons is known to exist in print. I am of the opinion, however, that both were printed. In connection with the first sermon is the following entry in the "Colony Records": "This Court, considering the elaborate & seasonable discourse of the Reūend Mr Joshua Moody enterteyned the Generall Assembly with on the day of elecc̄on, judge meet to entreate the sajd Mr Moody to transcribe a copy thereof meete for the presse, that it may be printed."[2] Sibley says "the sermon may not have been printed."[3] An additional, though slight, reason for thinking it was printed, is that Increase Mather, in 1677, spoke of it as "that Scripture which was worthily opened and applyed in this place upon the like solemn occasion two years ago, Judg. 2. 7. 10."[4] As for the 1692 sermon, Haven's list in Thomas's "History of

[1] Torrey's Election Sermon for 1674, p. 8.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 34. [3] Sibley's "Graduates," i. 379.

[4] Mather's "A Call from Heaven," 1677, p. 59; second impression, 1685, p. 81.

Printing in America," gives the following title: "People of New England Reasoned with. Election Sermon, May 4, 1692." Samuel Sewall has an interesting entry regarding the election for 1692: "May 4. Election-Day, Major Hutchinson and Capt. Greenough's Companies attend, Mr. Moodey preaches. Dine at Wing's. . . . No Treat at the Governour's but Beer, Cider, Wine."[1]

All honor to Moody (or, as he spelt it, Moodey), for, if we may believe the Reverend William Bentley,[2] he advised those arrested on the charge of witchcraft to evade trial by running away!

The "Happiness of a People in the Wisdome of their Rulers," preached by William Hubbard in 1676, was a very long sermon, and even to Hubbard's patient contemporaries a very dry one, for the first edition does not seem to have sold well. It was printed by John Foster in 1676, not long after he had set up his press in Boston, and being a stout and solid little quarto of some seventy pages, did not create a very lively demand. There was commercial enterprise in Boston, however, from its start; Foster bound up the unsalable sheets with Hubbard's more popular "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians," and so, shrewdly disposed of the edition. By itself, or with the Narrative, this sermon has, of course, great bibliographical interest. Hubbard was inclined to clemency, and even went so far towards liberalism as to doubt if a heretic deserves capital punishment.[3] I regret to say that the views on the civil service expressed in this discourse were sadly corrupt. He says on this point, "Concerning inferiour Officers, such as are Fiscalls & Treasurers, whose places (by reason of the profit they usually are attended with) are more liable to temptation & corruption, there is no matter of danger in their change."[4]

Increase Mather, who may fairly be called the prince of Election preachers, appeared four times before the Court, — in 1677, 1693, 1699, and in 1702. Not only did this eminent man do what he could to perpetuate the custom, but he seemed to have had, in common with many, a genuine reverence for the entire public ceremony of which it was a part. His first sermon, that for 1677, was only printed in a larger work of his, "A Call from Heaven." In his blasts against "sinful toleration," and "Hideous clamours

[1] Sewall's Diary, i. 360.

[2] 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 65.

[3] Hubbard's "Happiness of a People," 1676, p. 39.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 26.

for liberty of Conscience," he no doubt spoke with that "tonitruous cogency" for which his son tells us he was famous.

An historical interest attaches to the sermon for 1693. Mather had lately returned from his mission to England to secure the second Charter, and his discourse is in part a vindication of himself and of the Charter against some unfavorable criticism. It is commendably short, and closes with a rather faint admonition to pray for the King. "And pray for the Queen!" he adds, bringing to mind, by this afterthought, Dr. Chauncy's famous prayer for the drowned boy.

Unfortunately there is no trace of the sermon preached in 1678 by Samuel Phillips of Rowley, the great-great-great-grandfather of Wendell Phillips. The preacher showed a fondness for free speech, — which he must have transmitted, — for he was imprisoned for the "crime" of calling Randolph a "wicked man."

James Allen, who preached in 1679, admitted having "soul tremblings" at the thought of speaking on such an occasion. The typography of his sermon is strikingly good; the type is fine, and on the whole clear, while there is a noticeable absence of an excess of capital letters. Of Phillips's sermon the year before, he says: "If their missing it further your prayer, that is the best way to rectifie their proceedings, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, whence you were solemnly exhorted to it the last year, by a faithful Servant of Christ." [1] There is some reason to suppose, herefrom, that this discourse may have appeared in print.

Nothing more is known respecting the sermon for 1680, by Edward Bulkley, and that for 1681, by William Brimsmead, beyond the fact that both were preached.

Samuel Willard's sermon for 1682 was printed as part of a larger work, "The Child's Portion," and is entitled, "The only sure way to prevent threatened calamity." A reading of his words convinces one that he spoke the truth when he said, "I am far from pleading for or justifying anything that looks like *Enthusiasm*." Still it must be borne in mind that he abode long enough in this frail tabernacle to become the father of twenty children. He preached also in 1694, thirty-five years after graduation, on "The Character of a good Ruler;" which is, to tell the truth, the subject of four-

[1] Allen's Election Sermon for 1679, p. 8.

fifths of all Election Sermons. His ideas, however, were in advance of his times. "Civil Government is seated in no particular Persons or Families by a Natural right," he says; "neither," he continues, "hath the Light of Nature, nor the Word of God determined, what Form of Government shall be established among men, whether *Monarchical, Aristocratical,* or *Democratical.*" [1]

There are in every generation certain persons who seem to be especially delegated to preserve for future generations the smaller, but not necessarily unimportant, facts of contemporary life. Such a man was Pepys to England, and another was Judge Samuel Sewall, the Diarist. Among the varied occupations of this good man's life was, curiously enough, a diligent solicitude for the preaching of and listening to the Massachusetts Election Sermons. But for him, and the Mathers, the great collections in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Boston Public Library could not have existed. These men were succeeded in their tasks by the Reverend Thomas Prince, and a century later by the Reverend John Pierce. I shall not hesitate to quote freely from Sewall's Diary, for I am convinced that he made these sermons his especial care; he even interested himself in the printing of them; and he would often present copies as tender souvenirs. In fact, he never seemed to go abroad without one about his person. Once — to mention a solitary instance — he meets Mr. Pemberton "by Mr. Gerrishe's shop . . . he was going, it seems, to Madam Saltonstall's. I went with him having Election-Sermons in my Pocket." [2]

John Hale preached in 1684; and was asked to prepare a copy for the press. "This Court, taking notice of the great paynes & labour of the Reūend Mr John Hale in his sermon vpon the last election day, doe hereby order Samuell Nowell, Esqr, Mr Henry Bartholmew, Capt̃ Daniel Epps, & Mr Excercise Connant to give Mr Hale the thanks of this Court for his great pajnes, and that, as a further testimony of their acceptance thereof, doe in the Courts name desire a coppy of him, that may be fitted for the presse, and to take effectuall care that the same be printed at the publick charge." [3] No copy is known. Sibley says, "I have not seen a copy of this sermon, nor the title in any catalogue." [4] It is curious that Sprague, in his "Annals of the American Pulpit," should

[1] Willard's Election Sermon for 1694, p. 20. [2] Sewall's Diary, iii. 7.
[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 441. [4] Sibley's "Graduates," i. 519.

speak of this sermon as, with one exception, "the only product of Mr. Hale's pen, known to have been printed."[1]

"God's eye on the contrite," by William Adams, in 1685, is representative of the flagellations which the old ministers used to visit upon crying sins. "Privileged professors," he says, "may be discovered to be sinners; some to be proud, haughty, high-minded, supercilious, self-exalting, arrogant; others to be sensual, intemperate, corrupt, fleshly, lascivious; . . . others to be covetous, unjust, oppressive,"[2] and so on, even to the extent of being "company-keepers" who "sit and spend time with vain persons." "Low worms" the worthy parson finds his fellows, and "that the Great God should look upon such nothings, is a great stoop."[3] We find Mr. Adams, on 6 August of the same year, in company with Mr. Torrey, another sorrowful Election preacher, at Sewall's house. "This day his [Adams's] Election Sermon came out, and Augt. the 7th Friday morn, he gave me the Errata, which was chiefly carried *away* in stead of carried with ambition. Supped with a new sort of Fish called Coñers, my wife had bought, which occasioned Discourse on the Subject. Mr. Adams returned Thanks."[4] His sermon was reprinted in the "Dedham Pulpit." (Boston, 1840.)

Michael Wigglesworth was the preacher in 1686, and his text was from Revelation ii. 4, but no copy of the sermon seems to exist, although a request for the press was made. "It is ordered, that Mr Humphry Davy & Mr Treasurer give the Reūend Mr Michael Wigglesworth the thanks of this Court for his sermon on Wednesday last, & to desire him speedily to prepare the same for the presse, adding thereto what he had not then time to deliuer, the Court judging that the printing of it will be for publick benne-fitt."[5] The preacher may not have been well enough to comply with this request, for in his prayer he speaks of his ill-health.[6] Mr. John Ward Dean's explanation of the failure of this sermon to appear is that "as the government was dissolved soon after, it is possible that the sermon was never printed, though in several lists it is marked as having been printed."[7] Mr. Sibley

[1] Sprague's Annals, i. 170.
[2] Adams's Election Sermon for 1685, p. 11.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 17.
[4] Sewall's Diary, i. 92.
[5] Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 514.
[6] Sewall's Diary, i. 136.
[7] Memoir of Wigglesworth, p. 93.

thinks the change in the government rendered the printing of it "inexpedient or inconvenient." [1] The "American Quarterly Register," however, states that "He preached the Election Sermon in 1686, which was published." [2]

A double interest attaches to this sermon, both because of the condition of affairs in the Colony at its delivery, and from the character of him who preached it. The following extract from Sewall's Diary is all that is likely to be known concerning it: —

"May 12, 1686. Pleasant day. Governour ill of 's Gout, goes not to Meeting. Mr. Wigglesworth preaches from Rev. 2. 4 and part of 5th v. and do thy first works, end of the Text. Shew'd the want of Love, or abating in it, was ground enough of Controversy, whatsoever outward performances a people might have. In 's prayer said, That may know the things of our peace in this our day, and it may be the last of our days. Acknowledged God as to the Election, and bringing forth him as 't were a dead Man, — had been reckoned among the dead, — to preach." [3]

"There are," says Hutchinson, "no public records from the dissolution of the old charter government in 1686, until the restoration of it in 1689." [4] Sewall's Diary, too, is silent regarding the sermons during this period, nor do I find any hint regarding them elsewhere. It seems, therefore, highly probable [5] that blanks must be left for the years 1687 and 1688, — the first since 1662, and the last to occur, with three exceptions, until 1885.

Like his father, Cotton Mather preached four times, if it be decided to admit in the regular series his sermon delivered at the deposition of Andros before the "Honourable Convention of the Governour, Council, and Representatives . . . on May 23, 1689." In his half religious, half superstitious manner, Mather explains the cause of the frequent evils in the Colony. But there have been monitions, too, he thinks; "Especially the Sermons which our Elections have put the Embassadours of God upon *Preaching* and *Printing* of; these have so many loud *Warnings* unto us." [6]

[1] Sibley's "Graduates," i. 285. [2] American Quarterly Register, xi. 193.

[3] Sewall's Diary, i. 136.

[4] History of Massachusetts-Bay, i. 354, *note*.

[5] "Not till after the deposition of Gov. Andros, I presume, was another Election Sermon preached at Boston." (Dean's Memoir of Wigglesworth, p. 92.)

[6] Mather's "Way to Prosperity," p. 23.

Characteristically, he smuggles in something entirely foreign to the subject; this time it is a "*Discourse* fetch't from a *Reserved* Collection of MEMORABLE PROVIDENCES," in which he gossips of red snow, of a wondrous cabbage with three branches, and of other marvels equally germane to the "Way to Prosperity." [1]

"Above seventy years have rolled about, since a Frenchman," — in this decidedly modern and romantic manner Cotton Mather begins his sermon, "The Serviceable Man," for 1690. He deals with the Andros government as it deserved; calls the Quakers "the most *Malicious*, as well as the most *Pernicious* Enemies," [2] and dubs some of the contentious New Englanders "silly chickens." He mentions one person in the General Court "who can count, I suppose, Threescore years from the Time that first he took a seat among our *Magistrates*" [3] — meaning, no doubt, the venerable Bradstreet. It was a lively sermon, and in many respects "sensible," as we now understand the word.

Cotton Mather's Sermon for 1696 is one of the two needed to complete the printed series in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Copies of this rare work are owned by the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, and by the Boston Public Library.[4] In connection with the occasion of its delivery Sewall has the following entry: "May 27, 1696. Election. Rainy day, which wet the Troops that waited on the Lieut. Governour to Town. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches. Powring out Water at Mispeh, the Text." [5]

The ill-printed sermon for 1700, "A Pillar of Gratitude," was Cotton Mather's last effort at the Annual election. It is full of such naïveté as the following: "Indeed New England is not Heaven. That we are sure of! But for my part, I do not ask to

[1] The imprint of some copies of this sermon, "The Way to Prosperity," is: Boston, Printed by Richard Pierce, for Benjamin Harris. Anno Domini, 1690; of other copies it is: Printed by R. Pierce, for Joseph Brunning, Obadiah Gill, and James Woode. (See Sibley's "Graduates," iii. 50.) This sermon may also be found in Cotton Mather's "Wonderful Works of God commemorated."

[2] Mather's Election Sermon for 1690, p. 34. [3] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[4] The title is: "Things for a Distress'd People to think upon." There was an imperfect copy in George Brinley's library, which lacked three pages of the Postscript. The Worcester copy includes only pp. 5–74. The only known perfect copy is in the Boston Public Library. These three are the only copies of which I have heard.

[5] Sewall's Diary, i. 426.

remove out of New-England, except for a Removal unto Heaven." [1] Here is a spark of early Know-Nothingism: "At length it was proposed, that a colony of Irish might be sent over, to check the growth of this countrey: an Happy Revolution spoiled that Plot." [2]

No preacher is known for 1691, nor can I find any explanation for this omission, as in the cases of the years 1687, 1688, 1752, and 1764.

Mr. Edes has put in brackets the Christian name, John, of the Reverend Mr. Danforth who preached in 1697; but there is really no doubt that the preacher was John Danforth of Dorchester, who, Sibley says, "preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1693, and the Election Sermon in 1697; but they may not have been printed." [3] Sewall's entry for 26 May, 1697, is: "Election day: Capt. Foster Guards the Governour to the Town-house, where the Court had a Treat. Mr. Danforth preaches. Dine at the stone house." [4] Later on, in 1707, Sewall makes a memorandum, which settles all doubt, as follows: "Tuesday, Jany 14th. Govr calls a Council, Propounds Mr. Danforth, Dorchester, and Mr. Belchar of Newbury to Preach the Election Sermon; Mr. Samuel Belchar is agreed on, Mr. Danforth having preach'd before." [5] On the same page Sewall speaks of giving away several copies of Higginson's Election Sermon.

The memory of Nicholas Noyes, who preached in 1698, is not a

[1] Mather's Election Sermon for 1700, p. 11. [2] *Ibid.* p. 31.

[3] Sibley's "Graduates," ii. 514.

[4] Sewall's Diary, i. 453. This was the Star Tavern. It stood on the north-easterly corner of Hanover and Union streets, running back to and abutting upon Link Alley (later known as North Federal Court), which was discontinued, closed, and built upon in 1857–1860. It was here that the Court of Admiralty sat, in 1704, for the trial of Capt. John Quelch and his company for piracy, when Stephen North was the inn-keeper. Cf. Sewall's Diary, ii. 108; Province Laws, viii. 395, *note*; Shurtleff's Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, pp. 405, 607, 630, 656; Nomenclature of Streets (Boston City Document No. 119 of 1879), pp. 21, 26, 35, 89, 95; John Bonner's Plan of 1722; John Groves Hales's Maps of the Street Lines of Boston in 1819 and 1820, p. 185; and Annual Report of the Boston Street Laying Out Department for 1894 (City Document No. 35 of 1895), pp. 196, 228.

I am indebted to Mr. Henry H. Edes for this valuable note, which identifies not only the "Stone House," but a lost alley.

[5] Sewall's Diary, ii. 178.

sweet savor in New-England history. He was not only a prosecutor at witch-trials, but also a punster and a writer of obituary poetry; notwithstanding all this, there is reason to suppose him to have been a God-fearing, and in most respects a good, man. He finally confessed his madness towards witches, and sought to repair the evil done. He fell into the fashion of his age and of his cloth in preaching the "degeneracy of the times." In his sermon of ninety-nine pages he draws up his indictments, — irreligion, swearing, and so on, sixteen counts in all, — against his country. Yet, he admits, "it cannot with truth be asserted, that as yet we are as bad as bad can be; for there is real danger of growing worse."[1] He also seriously discourses as to whether Indians are really worth converting![2] There is at the end of the sermon an interesting short account of the plantations of Indians in the Province, written by "preachers to the Indians in their own tongue," — Grindall Rawson and Samuel Danforth, both of whom preached Election Sermons later. This mournful Noyes grew "very corpulent," and is said to have died choked with blood from the curse of a witch; this end was meted out with a justice more poetical than his obituary verses, for he would not on one occasion pray with John Procter, a condemned witch, when even their dinner had been taken from the poor witch's children by the sheriff.[3] More humane to children than Noyes was Michael Wigglesworth with his liberal eagerness to grant infants in another life "the easiest room in hell."

I have dwelt upon the Election Sermons for the Seventeenth century at length, for they are interesting chiefly because of their age; there is, furthermore, such uncertainty regarding the existence of some of them in printed form, that any account of them is important. Moreover, there were giants in those days, — the two Shepards, Mitchel, Higginson, Norton, Oakes, the Mathers, far as their teachings seem removed from the humane ideas of later times, were mighty men; their sermons, full of a parade of theology, overburdened with Scriptural quotations and too frequent expressions of the fear, common to the clergy, of degeneracy, were, nevertheless, masterly. As I have said, Shepard's "Eye-Salve" for 1672 is worthy of being regarded a New England classic.

[1] Noyes's Election Sermon for 1698, p. 58. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 69 *et seq.*

[3] Samuel G. Drake's "The Witchcraft Delusion in New England," iii. 40.

I shall not attempt to describe particularly the Election Sermons of the eighteenth century; several good collections of them exist, and may without much difficulty be consulted. There is, moreover, little variety in the treatment of subjects appropriate to election-day; it will be found also, even among election preachers, that there were some, troubled with the modern complaint of "mental absorption," who repeated other preachers' ideas. For a hundred years after Mitchel's famous "Nehemiah on the Wall," the favorite prototype of the exemplary ruler was Nehemiah; he was served up to suit every palate. He disappeared from the Election Sermons after the Revolution, though I have noticed a tendency to resuscitate him as late as 1850. It would hardly be possible to say how many times one is reminded in these discourses that rulers are "nursing fathers of the State," or "God's vicegerents here on earth." Like the character of Nehemiah such phrases became part of the preacher's stock of ideas.

In 1701, Sewall writes, under the date of 28 May, "Mr. Cooke, Addington, Walley, and self goe in my Coach and meet the Lieut Govr; met the Guard and his Honor near the first Brook. Mr. Belchar[1] preaches; Lt Govr, notwithstanding his Infirmities, was an Auditor."[2]

Harvard College was much in the prayers and sermons of these older divines; the College certainly had its ups and downs — more often perhaps being in sore straits, now wanting money, now pupils. Judging from some passages in these sermons, I do not think there was exaggeration in an old account of a visit to the College[3] where the narrator found "eight or ten young fellows, sitting around, smoking tobacco." Solomon Stoddard, in his sermon for 1703, says, "'tis not worth the while for persons to be sent to the *Colledge* to learn to Complement men, and Court Women; they should be sent thither to prepare them for Publick Service, and had need be under the over-sight of wise and holy men."[4] It was Stoddard who preached until his eighty-sixth year without the use of notes.[5]

[1] This was Joseph Belcher; Samuel Belcher preached in 1707.

[2] Sewall's Diary, ii. 34.

[3] Journal by Dankers and Sluyter (Memoirs, Long Island Historical Society, i.), p. 385.

[4] Stoddard's Election Sermon for 1703, p. 13.

[5] Sibley's "Graduates," ii. 114.

Jonathan Russell — whom Sewall calls "an Orthodox Usefull Man" [1] — says in 1704, in a rather gloomy if slangy manner, "we han't Glorifyed God as God, nor been thankful." [2] On the other hand, the next year, Joseph Estabrook, in his "Abraham the Passenger," says, "I believe there are as many real Saints in this Land as in any Land or Nation in the World, for the quantity of People." [3] In this year, 1705, Governor Joseph Dudley, in one of his half-insane freaks, tried to disallow the right of the election of a Speaker by the House. The election exercises went on, however. Sewall says: "Now t' was Candle-Lighting; for went into Meetinghouse about 12. Mr. Easterbrooks made a very good Sermon." [4] The next day Sewall continues: "Brown, Sewall, Lynde go to thank Mr. Easterbrooks for his Sermon and desire a copy: He Thanks the Gov[r] and Council for their Acceptance of his mean Labours and shews his unwillingness to be in print." [5]

John Rogers of Ipswich preached in 1706, notwithstanding that the year before the Legislature had ordered two pamphlets sent them by this preacher and Rev. Mr. Rogers of Boxford, "to be burnt by the common hangman, near the whipping-post in Boston." [6] The act was no doubt a phase of the contention between Dudley and the House.

In 1708 there seems to have existed disaffection in the minds of some, and among them of Cotton Mather, concerning the government, upon which it is not worth while to dwell; John Norton of Hingham, however, "preaches a Flattering Sermon as to the Governour" [7] in which he speaks of "this Great and Good Assembly, an Assembly of chosen People of the Lord."

"May 25 [1709]," Sewall says, "At Wiñisimet overtook Mr. Corwin, went over together; got to Boston about ten. Heard Mr. Rawson preach the Election Sermon — Before your feet stumble upon the dark Mountains." [8] We may hope confidently that Sewall heard the text with profit, and did not permit his feet to stumble, for the next entry is "Dine at the Green Dragon." This sermon

[1] Sewall's Diary, ii. 301.
[2] Russell's Election Sermon for 1704, p. 14.
[3] Estabrook's Election Sermon for 1705, p. 16.
[4] Sewall's Diary, ii. 132.
[5] *Ibid.* ii. 132.
[6] Sibley's "Graduates," iii. 273.
[7] Sewall's Diary, ii. 224.
[8] *Ibid.* ii. p. 256.

mentions the death of a famous New England trio, Torrey, Willard, and Higginson, and comments on the "tricks and shifts" of towns to evade the school laws. It was a sturdy old discourse of forty closely printed pages, divided into four propositions, each in turn subdivided and rounded off with an application and exhortation.

A little unpleasantness was prefatory to the delivery of Ebenezer Pemberton's sermon in 1710. Samuel May of Wrentham wrote two letters refusing to preach, and after some discussion Mr. Pemberton was agreed on. Sewall says, "Then Mr. Secretary did the Message. Mr. Pemberton disabled himself."[1] The preacher is still coyly excusing himself, while Sewall continues, "As we look towards the Artillery passing by, I said to Mr. Pemberton the passage of Ulysses, —

'Si mea cum vestris valuissent vota Pelasgi.'

Before we went away, word was brought that Dr. Mather was chosen to preach the Artillery Sermon. Mr. Pemberton said Must choose agen."[2] A few days later the worthy man fell into a pet with Sewall, apparently because he had lost a good dinner; but the two dined together at the Green Dragon after the delivery of a sermon, which is printed in one hundred and six pages, and reprinted in his Sermons and Discourses (London, 1727). Sewall adds, "70. before sermon."[3] This evidently means that seventy members had been already sworn in. It cannot be that the audience was no more than seventy, else Pemberton would not have spoken of appearing "this Day in this *Awful Desk*."[4]

The choice of a preacher in 1712 occasioned some debate, and finally Samuel Cheever was selected. "The Govr seem'd to decline Mr. Walter and begin to hover over Mr. Anger."[5] This, I suppose, was the Mr. Angier who, in 1710, Sewall did not think was a sufficiently "Square and Stable a Man"[6] for the honor. We learn parenthetically that, during Cheever's sermon, Sewall's son Joseph was taken with one of his "intermitting fevers."

Samuel Treat preached in 1713, but we have not the sermon.

[1] Sewall's Diary, ii. 278. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 278. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 282.
[4] Pemberton's Election Sermon for 1710, p. 4.
[5] Sewall's Diary, ii. 333. [6] *Ibid.* ii. 278.

His text, according to Sewall, was Psalms ii. 8. Dr. Isaac P. Langworthy, high authority in everything relating to early New-England religious literature, was firmly of the opinion that the sermons for 1713 and 1717 were never printed, although both preachers were formally requested to prepare their productions for the press. The year 1713 was one of disturbance in Boston, for then occurred its first and only bread riot, when some two hundred people sought to find corn in Arthur Mason's storehouse on the Common. All this may have put less important matters into the background. Sibley mentions a volume of Treat's sermons "correctly transcribed and apparently designed for publication;" [1] perhaps this sermon is therein. Treat, we learn, was a kindly man, with a loud voice, but he was a stiff Calvinist. Somewhere he cheerfully exclaims to the backslider, "Thou must erelong go to the bottomless pit. Hell hath enlarged herself, and is ready to receive thee." [2] Sewall has a few words on the lost sermon, and says that it "Encourag'd Rulers to be Faithfull; Christ would meet them with better Revivals and Refreshm'ts than Melchizedec met Abraham with. Gave this advice as to choice of Rulers, whatever other accomplishments were; yet, *Si profanus* is to be avoided." [3] Notwithstanding all this good advice, General Wait Still Winthrop was "dropped" at the election.

Concerning the Indians, very little appears in these sermons of this period; and this is curious, for they and the witches occupied largely the attention of early New England. In connection, however, with this topic, Jeremiah Shepard, in his discourse for 1715, says, "A work never to be forgotten, is the Lord's preparing this wilderness for his people when he swept away thousands of those salvage Tawnies (those cursed Devil worshippers) with a mortal Plague, to make room for a better People." [4] I have not come across a more heartless Pharisaism than this.

Although in the list of preachers in Andrew Bigelow's sermon for 1836, the sermon preached by Roland Cotton in 1717 is mentioned as being of duodecimo size, there is strong reason to believe that it was never printed. Cotton was, however, asked to prepare it for the press. Sibley quotes, perhaps from Josiah

[1] Sibley's "Graduates," ii. 308. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 309.
[3] Sewall's Diary, ii. 385. [4] Shepard's Election Sermon for 1715, p. 20.

Cotton's manuscript diary, to the effect that Roland Cotton "would never suffer any of his works to come out in print." [1]

The eighteenth century was still young when protests began to be common against the condition of the finances, and particularly against the Province Bills. It is too long a story to go into here; but it is relevant to say that the Election preachers kept the low state of the credit constantly in the minds of their hearers. Benjamin Colman, who was something of a radical for those days, says plainly in 1718, "what we call a *hundred* Pounds is really but as *seventy*, if so much." [2] This subject, and the condition of the College and the "inferior" schools, were often recurred to at this period.

In 1719 Sewall mentions one of the few instances of a declination to preach. "March, 11. The Gen'l Court meets. Send in a Message that Mr. Wise declin'd preaching the Election Sermon, and they had chosen Mr. Williams of Hatfield to preach it." [3]

Election Sermons have unquestionably been instrumental for good in various ways; they have fired patriotic zeal, strengthened irresolution, perhaps consoled the sick or needy, or converted the backslider; but I do not conceive that any mortal but Samuel Sewall would ever have thought of using an Election Sermon as a philtre to excite the tender emotions of love. In his famous but unsuccessful suit to Mrs. Ruggles, after the death of his first wife, on one occasion he "went in the Coach and visited Mrs. Ruggles after Lecture. . . . Made some Difficulty to accept an Election Sermon, lest it should be an obligation on her." [4] Later, he says, "I gave her [the same lady] Mr. Moodey's Election Sermon [for 1721] Marbled, with her name written in it." [5]

It may be mentioned incidentally that in Colman's sermon for 1723 is an interesting notice of Thomas Hollis and of his gifts to the College.

Joseph Sewall, son of the Diarist, preached in 1724. His views of what Sunday-keeping ought to be seem strict even for those strait-laced days. "And is not the Evil Custom of keeping open Shops on the Evening before the Day, a Prophanation of the Sab-

[1] Sibley's "Graduates," iii. 325.
[2] Colman's Election Sermon for 1718, p. 40.
[3] Sewall's Diary, iii. 214.
[4] *Ibid.* iii. 291.
[5] *Ibid.* iii. 291.

bath, which ought to be Reform'd?"[1] He attacks some of the darling sins of that age, rebuking even the "*attending of Funerals* when no present Necessity requires it."[2] In 1727, Joseph Baxter asks, "May not something be done to prevent unnecessary Journeyings on the Lord's-Day?"[3] "A Formal Laodicean Indifferency," and other symptoms of the degeneracy of the age, was the subject of Ebenezer Thayer's discourse in 1725. Sewall says, "Election-Day, good Wether. Went in to the Lt Governour's Treat . . . Mr. Thayer preaches from Jer. 6, 8. — Be instructed O Jerusalem. Dine at the Exchange Tavern . . . I was sick of the Election."[4] Though growing old, Sewall still maintains his interest in the Election Sermon. A little earlier in the same year he writes, "I left 3 Election Sermons and 3 of Mr. Mayhew's Lecture Sermons with Capt. Phips."[5]

Some of the words and phrases used by these early preachers have interested and amazed me. What congregation to-day could understand such words as "epanalepsis," "horrendous," and "aposiopesis"? Extremely simple language also, colloquialisms, and even ungrammatical expressions are frequent. In Breck's sermon (1728) we find "brizzils" for bristles.[6] Samuel Fiske (1731) speaks of "the bear reading of the Psalm."[7] Many unusual words or phrases may be due to errors of the press, not of the preacher. Linguistically, few sermons are more entertaining than that stiff and pedantic one by John Swift of Framingham in 1732, who is much alarmed at certain "*Horribilia de Deo;*" one of which is that "some would induce us to believe that Hell-fire is shortly and in some time to be quench'd, or that the Torments of Hell are not everlasting."[8] Harvard College he calls "that *Primrose* of all His Majesty's Dominions in *America*."[9]

Of Thomas Prince's valuable discourse for 1731, nothing need be said, except that in the Appendix is reprinted a long extract

[1] Sewall's Election Sermon for 1724, p. 65.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 66.
[3] Baxter's Election Sermon for 1727, p. 32.
[4] Sewall's Diary, iii. 356.
[5] *Ibid.* iii. 348.
[6] Breck's Election Sermon for 1728, p. 22.
[7] Fiske's Election Sermon for 1731, p. 10.
[8] Swift's Election Sermon for 1732, p. 23.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 25.

from Stoughton's sermon for 1668. Prince suggests, furthermore that "the Excellent Election Sermons of Mr. Higginson, Mitchel, Stoughton, Danforth, Shepard, Oakes, Torrey, &c. . . . might be of Publick Service were they Reprinted and Dispersed." [1]

By numerous implications, it may be assumed not only that the annual delivery of the sermon was a matter of general interest, but also that it was well attended. Samuel Wigglesworth (1733) speaks of the "*Vast Assembly.*" This Mr. Wigglesworth is watchful of the follies of his generation, particularly of its "Exorbitant Reach after riches."

A tendency of preachers to be lachrymose is remarked by Edward Holyoke in 1736, who says, "In the choice of this Subject, I vary from many of my Fathers and superior Brethren, who (before me) have stood in this Desk upon the like Occasion, in that they have chosen to discourse of the Apostacy of this People of God, and drop their tears over their Immoralities." [2] But the next year Israel Loring makes a rather sour rejoinder, and dwells fondly on the congenial theme "of the Degeneracies, that the People of the Land are fallen into." [3] It seems that then as now neglect of public duties was especially due to "Light Indispositions of Body, small Difficulties of the Weather, and Distance of the Way." [4] Loring may be pardoned his platitudes, for he makes the creditable suggestion that the descendants of the victims of the witchcraft persecutions be in some way indemnified for injury or disgrace.[5] Lest he should here have shown too liberal a disposition, he advises in conclusion a more frequent "preaching up the Doctrine of Hell-torments." [6] Amid all these comminations of the wickedness of the age, I notice no censure of slavery.

The sermons continue to be outspoken in regard to the finances of the Province. In 1738 John Webb speaks of the fluctuating state of "our Medium of Trade," — meaning, of course, the paper currency. Charles Chauncy, in the appendix to his important sermon for 1747, quotes the views of John Barnard and Nathaniel Appleton, and refers with candor to the evil condition of the cur-

[1] Prince's Election Sermon for 1731, p. 37.
[2] Holyoke's Election Sermon for 1736, p. 6.
[3] Loring's Election Sermon for 1737, p. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 12.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 51.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 60.

rency and the public bills, especially so far as this subject directly affected the ministers.[1] In 1749 William Balch refers to "Our wretched Paper-medium." Finally, in 1751, William Welsteed is able to congratulate the public on a deliverance from the "Iniquitous medium," which took place in 1750.

Up to the period of the French and Indian wars the Province had for some time been enjoying immunity from political disturbance, and as a result the clergy had to fall back on such old and well-worn themes as the inviolability of Charter rights, or ply the scourge over social and moral evils. Mr. John Webb in 1738, Mr. William Williams in 1741, Mr. Nathaniel Appleton in 1742, all speak strongly on the matter of the Charter; the proximity in point of time of the several sermons on this subject would seem to show that just then some especial danger was apprehended in this direction, or it may have been a manifestation of the Congregational party thus early putting itself on guard against the slow, almost motionless advance of the English hierarchy toward America. This is overtly alluded to in Chauncy's sermon for 1747, when he remarks, "But justice in rulers should be seen likewise in their care of the *religious* rights and liberties of a people. Not that they are to exert their authorities in *settling articles of faith*, or *imposing modes of worship*."[2] Notwithstanding such open opinions, there was not much in these sermons which appears to foreshadow the coming Revolution. The clergy, as usual, were conservative as long as possible; and the people no doubt approved Mr. Cooper's sentiment, in his sermon for 1740, that "The Notion of *Levelism* has as little Foundation in Nature as in Scripture,"[3] and that it was better "to *pray more* for Rulers, and *talk less* against them."[4] The next year, 1741, William Williams of Weston, occupies the safer ground of moral instruction, and inveighs against "Horse trading," "stroling about," and other dangers to the social fabric.[5]

Charles Chauncy's fearless address, in addition to its freedom from the ordinary commonplaces of Election day regard-

[1] See the Memorial of the Chaunceys, by William Chauncey Fowler, on the attitude of the General Court in this matter.

[2] Chauncy's Election Sermon for 1747, p. 36.

[3] Cooper's Election Sermon for 1740, p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 9.

[5] Williams's Election Sermon for 1741, p. 49.

ing the virtues of Nehemiah and the "nursing fathers" of the Province, had the additional merit of being well printed, and almost modern in a far less frequent use of capital letters than was in vogue then. This latter oddity I am at a loss to explain.

In the opinion of Samuel Phillips, whose sermon for 1750 affords several glimpses at contemporary affairs, the country was "exceeding all others in costly Fashions; and for Extravagance in manner of Living." [1]

It is reasonably certain that there was no sermon preached either in 1752 or 1764, for in both those years small-pox raged in Boston.[2]

There are now dim forebodings of the democratic uprising soon to shake off the tyrannical hand, the pressure of which for a long time has not been heavy, but yet steadily increasing. Through the sermon of John Cotton of Newton in 1753 is heard the "Cry of Unrighteousness, Oppression and Extortion" [3] in the land. It was a melancholy discourse, not at all like that in 1754 by the still young Jonathan Mayhew, who had been graduated only ten years. Mayhew is bold, fearless, even aggressive. "To say the least," urges he, "monarchical government has no better foundation in the oracles of God, than any other." [4] And again, "It is very strange we should be told, at this time of day, that loyalty and slavery mean the same thing." [5] He constantly urges "the union of these colonies;" has his hit at the French; and wishes to convert the Indians,[6] whom he sees more and more coming under the control of the missionaries of the Roman Church. He dislikes the importation of foreigners, even of Protestants. Of Harvard College he frankly says: "The state of our College

[1] Phillips's Election Sermon for 1750, p. 42.

[2] "There were but three sessions of the General Court this year [1752]. The first session was held in Concord, on account of the small-pox which then prevailed in Boston. On the fifth of June the Assembly was prorogued to September 27th (16th, Old Style), but was again prorogued, by proclamation, August 28th, to meet at Harvard College on the twenty-second of November following." — *Province Laws*, iii. 662, *note*.

[3] Cotton's Election Sermon for 1753, p. 16.

[4] Mayhew's Election Sermon for 1754, p. 5. [5] *Ibid.* p. 20.

[6] See Dr. Joseph H. Allen's Remarks upon the relations of the Mayhew family to the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, at the February, 1895, meeting, iii. 45, *post*. See also Foote's Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 252, 253.

can neither be forgotten, nor enough lamented. . . . Indeed, if literature and the muses chiefly haunted where poverty resides — But this is a thread-bare topic." [1]

Although Samuel Checkley preached in 1755, Thomas Smith of Portland had been previously offered and had declined the honor. In his Journal he says: "I received a letter from the secretary informing me that the Governour and Council had warned me to preach the Election sermon." [2]

An anxiety consequent upon the progress of the French and Indian war was seen in the sermons of the day. Some sermons were courageous, and in some — as, for instance, in that of Ebenezer Pemberton (the second of that name who preached) in 1757 — fear was plainly expressed. At last, in 1761, Benjamin Stevens's sermon on "Liberty" celebrates the "entire conquest of Canada." [3] Within fifteen years of the Revolution, it is strange to read the words of a preacher extolling George III. as "a Prince possessed of . . . amiable virtues and excellent accomplishments," who will "protect his faithful subjects in the greatest of human blessings, the secure enjoyment of their civil and religious Rights." [4]

The rambling, chaotic ninety-three pages of which Thomas Frink delivered himself in 1758 would be tedious indeed were it not for the peculiarities of the preacher, who must have been an original. He covers sixty pages in getting to his subject, William III. The style is mystical, the sermon full of references to "viols," the "millennium," and the Second Advent. Election day, in his Scriptural language, is "the happy Day on which the Tribes of the Lord, the Heads of the Tribes, . . . assemble in the City of our Solemnities." [5] Again he rhapsodizes, "Oh Boston! thy Beauty is faded — the Lord hath taken from thee — the Judge, the Prudent, and the Ancient, the Honourable Man, and the Councellor — Help Lord, for the godly Man ceaseth — and where is the Man to be found among you to stand in the Gap?" [6] This refers to Secretary Josiah Willard, who died in 1756, and was succeeded by Secretary Oliver.

This pretentious discourse was followed in the next year, 1759,

[1] Mayhew's Election Sermon for 1754, p. 28.
[2] Thomas Smith's Journal (Willis's edition, 1849), p. 159.
[3] Stevens's Election Sermon for 1761, p. 6.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 57.
[5] Frink's Election Sermon for 1758, p. 1.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 85.

by a brief, colorless, but wholly irreproachable, effort by Joseph Parsons.

Abraham Williams, in 1762, speaks boldly of "all men being naturally equal," and mentions "Attempts of domestic Traitors, arbitrary bigotted Tyrants."[1] It is significant that the titlepage does not mention either governor or lieutenant-governor, as it was the almost invariable custom to do up to that time. Needless to say, Williams did not receive the honor of a reprint in London, as did Andrew Eliot in 1765. Eliot praised the British Constitution as the most perfect form of civil government. Of Bernard he speaks highly, but refers to Acts passed "that seem hard on the Colonies."[2] He furthermore asserts that "there is perhaps not a man to be found among us, who would wish to be independent on our mother-country."[3] He attributed most of the prevailing trouble to excessive drinking.[4]

What the good ruler ought to do is so elaborately set forth by Ebenezer Bridge, in 1767, that he would seem to be referring to Bernard. Daniel Shute, in 1768, on the other hand, was conservative, and meant to be conciliatory; but in the next year Jason Haven remarks that "Mutual confidences and affection, between Great-Britain and these Colonies, I speak it with grief, seems to be in some measure lost."[5] In this year, 1769, Joseph Jackson had been asked to preach and had declined.

Down to the period immediately preceding the Revolution, the Election Sermons for many years (and this was true of them for some years before they were discontinued) had been preached perfunctorily, if ably. The time had come when they were to play an active part, and the spoken word from the political pulpit was to help sway men's decisions. Soon after 1766 the Governor found himself without friendly support of the Council, which as fast as possible was filled by men favorable to the coming order of things. It is unnecessary here to explain the effort to

[1] Williams's Election Sermon for 1762, p. 19.

[2] Eliot's Election Sermon for 1765, p. 52. [3] *Ibid.* p. 53.

[4] This is the Andrew Eliot whose Letters to Thomas Hollis (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 398–461) are so well known for their value among pre-revolutionary documents. See other similar letters of his in Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, xvi. 281 *et seq.*

[5] Haven's Election Sermon for 1769, p. 48.

secure a royally-appointed Council which should side with the Governor. This objectionable scheme was agreed to by the Ministry in 1774; but affairs were then *prœter curam*. The Governor's power of appointment of military officers, and of judicial officers with the consent of the Council, and his power of negation of all others chosen by the General Court were conferred in the charter of 1691. Moreover, the people and the clergy were jealous for all the religious privileges which had been nominally granted them. The clergy certainly had not forgotten that, on the restoration of Charles II., four Commissioners, of whom any two or three were to be a quorum, had been appointed to look out for "the reputation and credit of the Christian religion" in New England.[1] James's man, Andros, followed this Commission, and henceforth there was more or less of this "looking up" of the political as well as of the religious interests of the English hierarchy. Hints of this subtle influence of a force working contrary to the well-established religious interests of New England are not wanting, to one who reads aright, throughout these sermons. Something more tangible than hints appears in the sermons by Charles Chauncy and by Jonathan Mayhew, especially in that one by the latter, on the death of Charles I. William Gordon intelligently explains the position of the Election preachers on this matter as follows: "The ministers of New England being mostly congregational, are from that circumstance, in a professional way more attached and habituated to the principles of liberty than if they had spiritual superiors to lord it over them, and were in hopes of possessing in their turn, through the gift of government, the seat of power. They oppose arbitrary rule in civil concerns from the love of freedom, as well as from a desire of guarding against its introduction into religious matters."[2] What Gordon says is particularly interesting and important; for it is, so far as I know, the first recognition of any historic value in the Election Sermon. "To the Pulpit, the Puritan Pulpit, we owe the

[1] Thornton's Pulpit of the American Revolution, p. 175.

No one has probed more cautiously or more accurately to discover the attitude of the hierarchy previous to the Revolution, than has the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain in several of his publications, but particularly in his Address on "John Adams."

[2] History of the Revolution, i. 418, 419.

moral force which won our Independence," remarks Thornton,[1] who does full justice to the ability and courage of the ministry, and has included in his work several of the strongest discourses of this series.

Concerning the theoretical principles of political science, there is a remarkable unanimity among the patriotic sermons at the period of the Revolution and also among those for a few preceding years. All bear the unmistakable traces of Locke's Essay on Civil Government. Certain it is that for some time the preachers, almost without exception, had been expressing belief in the natural equality of man, and in the human origin of all forms of government, though generally ending their arguments with an apostrophe to the glories of the British Constitution. The precise expression, "All men are born free and equal," was inserted in the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights of 1780 by Judge John Lowell, but the idea involved therein was not infrequently expressed in these Sermons. That of Samuel Cooke for 1770 contains the essential doctrines of the Declaration of Rights and of the Revolution. Thornton reprints it with the title, "The True Principles of Civil Government." This preacher, who afterward delivered a sermon on the battle-field at Lexington in 1777, for "a Memorial of the Bloody Tragedy, barbarously acted, by a party of British Troops," was obliged to deliver his Election Sermon at Cambridge,[2] and not at the usual place, — the Town House, or probably by that time the Old South meeting-house, in Boston. This was, no doubt, as Thornton says, by reason of a "show of despotism;" but it did not intimidate the speaker from referring to the multiplying of "lucrative offices," and to subordinate offices "made the surest step to wealth and ease."[3] He refers to the disclosure by Agent Bollan of the correspondence[4] with the ministry, and calls the Charter, not "an act of grace, but a compact."[5] Of Cooke's words Thornton says: "Governor Hutchinson cannot

[1] Pulpit of the American Revolution, p. xxxviii.

[2] At the "Meeting-House. . . . After Divine Service the Procession returned to Harvard-Hall, where an Entertainment was provided." — *Massachusetts Gazette*, 4 June, 1770.

[3] Cooke's Election Sermon for 1770, p. 16.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 20.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 33.

have listened to this sermon, and its implied parallel of the times of Andros with his own official period, without discomfort and perhaps regret." [1] The Revolution was not yet ripe, even in the imagination of the fearless minister, who concludes with the assurance that the people "glory in the British constitution, and are abhorrent, to a man, of the most distant thought of withdrawing their allegiance from their gracious Sovereign, and becoming an independent state." [2]

In this year, besides this regular ceremony at Cambridge, there was an independent meeting at Boston before which Charles Chauncy preached. Chauncy's sermon is included in the first published list of the Election Sermons in 1794. Its title explains the reason of its delivery.[3]

John Tucker preached at Cambridge in 1771, and was more conservative in his remarks than his immediate predecessor. He refers, however, to the "absurd and exploded doctrines of passive obedience, and non-resistance." [4] Again, it is insinuated that just rulers are "not apt, in a pet, to desert the common cause." [5] The old observance of directly addressing the Governor at the close of the sermon was carried out this year, "tho' it has not been the standing custom of late." [6] In the earlier days the ministry also were formally addressed and exhorted, just after the address to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor.

"There is not, I suppose, a native of this Province, who does not bear unfeigned loyalty to King George *the third*," [7] exclaimed Moses Parsons in his sermon for 1772. Some grievances are ad-

[1] Pulpit of the American Revolution, p. 177.

[2] Cooke's Election Sermon for 1770, p. 45.

[3] Trust in God, the Duty of a People in a Day of Trouble. A sermon preached, May 30th, 1770. At the request of a great number of Gentlemen, friends to the Liberties of North America, who were desirous, notwithstanding the removal of the Massachusetts General-Court (unconstitutionally as they judged) to Cambridge, that God might be acknowledged in that house of worship at BOSTON, in which our tribes, from the days of our fathers, have annually sought to him for direction, previous to the choice of his Majesty's Council. By Charles Chauncy, D.D. Boston: printed by Daniel Kneeland, for Thomas Leverett, in Corn-Hill. 1770.

[4] Tucker's Election Sermon for 1771, p. 19.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 45.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 26.

[7] Parsons's Election Sermon for 1772, p. 23.

mitted by him, to whom it seemed that the "day is become gloomy and dark, and the waters are troubled." [1] In the midst of these disturbed elements, the preacher for 1773, the Rev. Charles Turner, found time to cry out against "the immoral practice of gaming with lucrative purposes, chiefly common among persons in that which they call high life." "Amazing profanity, especially in maritime places," [2] is likewise condemned.

In 1774, for the last time in these annals, the annual sermon was delivered before "His Excellency," then, of course, Gage, and before "the Honorable His Majesty's Council." Gad Hitchcock, the preacher, was the first, I believe, to mention the "American cause." [3] He, too, held that "In a state of nature men are equal." [4] Some courage must have been requisite to speak as he did of "wicked rulers, such as Nero, and others of later date." [5] The tardy determination of the Ministry to have a royally appointed Council is firmly met by this patriot. Choice of Council, he declares, is "a privilege, which we never have forfeited, and we are resolved we never will." [6]

A reprint of this interesting sermon was made in 1885 at the expense of the great-granddaughter of Gad Hitchcock, Mrs. Abby L. (Hitchcock) Tyler, of which only a few copies were struck off.

It has been customary to say that there were two Election Sermons preached in 1775 — one by Samuel Langdon,[7] President of Harvard, "Before the Honorable Congress of the Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay . . . Assembled at Watertown, 31st Day of May, 1775. Being the Anniversary fixed by CHARTER for the Election of Counsellors;" the other by William Gordon, the historian of the Revolution, "before the Honorable House of Representatives, on the Day intended for the Choice of Counsellors, Agreeable to the Advice of the Continental Congress," on 19 July, 1775. Langdon's sermon is doubtless to be considered as belong-

[1] Parsons's Election Sermon for 1772, p. 17.
[2] Turner's Election Sermon for 1773, p. 41.
[3] Hitchcock's Election Sermon for 1774, p. 45.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 20.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 13.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 42.
[7] There have been two reprints of Langdon's sermon, — one in Thornton's Pulpit of the American Revolution, and the other in "The Patriot Preachers of the American Revolution," 1860.

ing to the regular series. It was delivered at the time usual to this ceremony, and was sent, by special vote, to each minister in the Colony, and to each member of the Congress. Of it Gage said: "To complete the horrid prophanation of terms and of ideas, the name of God has been introduced in the pulpit to excite and justify devastation and massacre." [1]

Langdon was a violent Whig, but not popular as a man or as President of the College.[2] In this sermon he asserts that blood was shed at Lexington while the inhabitants "were actually complying with the command to disperse." [3] He also echoes the accusation common at that time that an attempt was making to establish Popery in the British dominions.[4]

Gordon's sermon [5] held that the war, as a means of establishing liberty, was a punishment for the moral delinquencies of the colonies, which might have separated peacefully had they been worthier. His patriotism, however, was undoubted, when he remarks, "No member can consistently take his place, or be admitted to sit in the house of Assembly, who *hesitates* about setting up government." [6] Gordon spoke again, on 4 July, 1777, before the General Court, although Samuel Webster preached regularly at the Election in that year.

Most of the sermons of this time are noticeable for directness and simplicity, in sharp contrast with the fine theorizing and theologizing of many of the earlier efforts; but Samuel West, in 1776, "before the Honorable Council," delivered a long and rather ponderous apology for the state of affairs. Although his reasoning was too abstruse for the occasion, his patriotism was sound; he even enunciated the democratic idea that the popular judgment is always right.[7] West's sermon was preached at the Old Brick meeting-house, on the site which had been dedicated to the worship of God ever since 1640.[8]

[1] Quoted by Thornton, p. 255, *note*.

[2] Patriot Preachers, p. 50.

[3] Langdon's Election Sermon for 1775, p. 8.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.

[5] This sermon bears the imprint, "Watertown: printed and sold by Benjamin Edes. 1775."

[6] Gordon's Sermon of 19 July, 1775, p. 27.

[7] West's Election Sermon for 1776, p. 27.

[8] This site is now (1894) occupied by the Rogers Building.

Samuel Webster, in 1777, said, among other excellent things, "Let elections of the *Legislators* be *frequent;* Let *monopolies*, and all *kinds* and degrees of *oppression* be carefully guarded against." [1]

John Adams has plainly declared that all men in the American Revolution were not heroes; so, too, in 1778, the Reverend Samuel Phillips Payson speaks of the small contemporary criticism busy in his hearing. "The growls of avarice and curses of clowns, will generally be heard, when the public liberty and safety call for more generous and costly exertions." [2] Thus early he proposes that the General Assembly "form and establish upon generous principles a society of arts and sciences." [3]

The liberalizing tendency of the great contest can be seen even in the relatively slight matter of according the honor of delivering the Election Sermon, an honor which hitherto had seldom gone outside of Congregational ranks. In 1779, Samuel Stillman, preacher of the First Baptist Church in Boston, was chosen. He urged strongly a Bill of Rights, and maintained the "natural equality of all men." [4] His doctrine was sturdily democratic, and conceded only temporal power to all magistrates, and would seem not to have favored what is now somewhat cantingly termed putting "God in the Constitution."

For the last time before the "Honorable Council" the regular Election Sermon was preached by Simeon Howard in 1780. Although in the midst of an eventful struggle, the preacher feels called on solemnly to admonish the country against the "spirit of infidelity, selfishness, luxury, and dissatisfaction which so deeply marks our our present manners." [5]

Samuel Cooper, he who died in 1783, and who had previously preached in 1756, discoursed also in 1780 before John Hancock, the Senate, and House, "Being the day of the Commencement of the Constitution, and Inauguration of the New Government." This was, as appears, the day of general election under the new Constitution, so that here is a second instance of two Election Sermons in one year. It has been proposed, rather senselessly it seems, to count into the total the two extra sermons for 1775 and

[1] Webster's Election Sermon for 1777, p. 30.
[2] Payson's Election Sermon for 1778, p. 14.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 37, *note.*
[4] Stillman's Election Sermon for 1779, p. 8.
[5] Howard's Election Sermon for 1780, p. 47.

1780, in order to fill up the numerical gap of the years 1752 and 1764. Cooper's effort was a model of the patriotic sermon, and was full of that dignity which in some way we have associated with many of the sayings, writings, and actions of the nobler characters of our Revolutionary era. The preacher was then approaching mature age; his Artillery sermon had been delivered when he was but twenty-six years of age, and his first Election Sermon when he was thirty-one. This later sermon of 1780 had the distinction of being translated into Dutch, and was inserted in the *Verzameling van stukken tot de dertien Vereenigde Staeten van Noord-America betrekkelijk*" (Leyden, 1781).

Of the impassioned appeal to patriotism, well panoplied with italics, exclamation-points, and other weapons from the typographical armory, the sermon of Jonas Clark of Lexington for 1781 is a good specimen.

Not often did our ancestors venture away from the Scriptures to find elsewhere a quotation to grace diction. It is safe to say that Zabdiel Adams, in quoting "vanish like the baseless fabrick of a vision,"[1] was the first in this list of preachers to borrow from Shakespeare. He misquotes, to be sure, but the attempt was commendable. Several phrases used by this preacher are worth remembering; as, for instance, in urging a continuation of the war, he exclaims: "It is better to be *free among the dead*, than slaves among the living."[2]

Moses Hemmenway of Wells, Maine, who preached in 1784, was a rather eccentric person, and this fact may possibly have caused the apparent anxiety on the part of the Legislature that he should decline his invitation to preach.[3]

No sooner was the Revolution well past than the "sins of the day" again began to be attacked with undiminished vigor. Joseph Lyman especially, in 1787, waxes very hot over popular vices.

[1] Adams's Election Sermon for 1782, p. 49. [2] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[3] Resolve requesting the Governor and Council to appoint a gentleman to preach the election sermon, in case that Mr. *Hemmenway* declines. 25 *March*, 1784.

Whereas the great distance of the Rev. *Moses Hemmenway*, chosen by the House to preach upon the next annual election, has prevented his giving his answer, . . . Resolved: etc. (Resolves of the General Court, March, 1784, No. ccii., p. 151.)

His sermon likewise reviews at some length Shays's Rebellion, which had ended early in that year.

The declination of Joseph Lathrop to preach in 1793 is a matter of regret; for had he accepted, the one blot on the escutcheon of our Election Sermons had probably never been. As it happens, however, the only instance of dishonesty in connection with this custom is to be found in the sermon of Samuel Parker of Trinity Church, Boston, for that year. A large part of the matter of Parker's address was taken bodily and without acknowledgment from Jacques Saurin's "Harmony of Religion and Civil Polity," which may be found in the fourth volume of the edition of Saurin's Sermons in seven volumes.

The preachers at this period, in common with all New England, were throwing up their hands in horror at the excesses of the French Revolution, and were trying to stay its influence on this side of the ocean. As a matter of course, this anti-Gallic sentiment was that of strong Federalists, and came from such men as John Mellen, who preached in 1797, and who speaks of John Adams as "that highly respectable character."[1] It was Adams himself who referred to the Vice-Presidency as a "respectable situation."[2]

A Constant Reader wrote to the "New England Telegraph and Eclectic Review" in 1836 (II. 337–351), "It is long since Dr. Emmons's Election Sermon, preached at Boston in 1798, was out of print," and requested a reprint. Moses Thacher, the editor of this Review, accordingly printed the discourse entire.

The century was very young when Aaron Bancroft began the familiar cry, "O tempora!" He found more virtue in the early settlers, and among them greater purity in elections. That voting was honest is doubtless true, although in the Colony Records it may be seen that even in our golden era measures were taken against throwing an excess of beans as ballots. In 1803 Reuben Puffer predicts the downfall of the Republic, — an idea not previously advanced in these sermons, but yet the natural outcome of extravagant laudation of the past from the pulpit. In the next year, 1804, Samuel Kendal threw doubts on the doctrine of equality. In 1806 and 1808 the preachers are a little optimistic

[1] Mellen's Election Sermon for 1797, p. 32.

[2] Morse's "John Adams," p. 248.

in their views, — one of them, Thomas Allen, finding, even in the face of the embargo, that this country is "not the abode of wretchedness."[1] This preacher is also refreshingly brief.

It is hardly necessary to explain that most of the worthy gentlemen who had preached for some time were Federalists, and that from 1801 to 1806 their sermons were delivered in the audience of that unwavering partisan, Caleb Strong. They had the comforting assurance that their utterances were indorsed by the "respectability" of the State, and consequently out of the abundance of their hearts their mouths spake. But there is a limit even to the license tolerated in an Election Sermon, for although the custom began with some very free speech, it was terminated doubtless because of over-indulgence in the same privilege. David Osgood, in 1809, must have been peculiarly exasperating to Republican listeners, so much so perhaps that they were the more ready to take quick offence if due cause was given. The cause did arise when Elijah Parish of Byfield uttered words, at the election in 1810, full of that peculiar vehemence which such men as Timothy Pickering and his sympathizers so dearly loved. There was, however, nothing more violent in Parish's words than in parts of Osgood's address. Parish calls the government atheistical, and an ally of Napoleon, — Napoleon of course being the veritable Antichrist to a good Federalist. He continues: "The Chieftain of Europe, drunk with blood, casts a look upon us; he raises his voice, more terrible than the midnight yell of savages, at the doors of our forefathers."[2] So little was all this to the taste of the Legislature, that no majority was found to ask the plain-spoken minister for a copy of his sermon for the press; he accordingly was under the necessity, unique in the later annals of this subject, of printing at his own and his subscribers' expense. The pamphlet had the unusual honor of two editions. If one recalls the impressive lessons upon the duty of obedience to rulers, and then reads the vilifications of those in authority in the Election discourses of this period, the thoroughly bad temper of Massachusetts, exhibited just before and during the war of 1812, may be plainly understood. Here may be seen a reflection of the true spirit of the times, and that spirit History will decide was bad. Not all these sermons, however, which relate to

[1] Allen's Election Sermon for 1808, p. 13.

[2] Parish's Election Sermon for 1810, p. 21.

the events preceding and during the war of 1812 are of questionable patriotism. Edmund Foster in 1812 was on the side of the government and in favor of the war; but what can be said of James Flint's defence of England in 1815, or of his referring to the taking of Washington as "the attack of the enemy upon the immediate seat and citadel of improvidence and imbecility, the head-quarters of the redoubtable heroes of Bladensburg?" [1]

Among many excellent discourses, it has seemed to me that the one delivered by William Jenks in 1820 was exceptionally eloquent. This was the year of the formation of the new State of Maine, and the preacher was from Bath. The rather unusual fortune of two editions befell Daniel Sharp's sermon for 1824, perhaps by reason of his cheerful vaticinations for the future of the Nation. The tone of Moses Stuart's sermon for 1827 was thoroughly democratic; he was followed the next year, in an address of commendable brevity, by James Walker, who spoke again in 1863, forty-nine years after his graduation at Harvard. In 1830, Channing spoke on "Spiritual Freedom," — a theme congenial to him.

The simple and almost familiar discourse of Leonard Withington in 1831 is refreshing after much that was stately, not to say stilted. He speaks at some length of the former influence of the clergy; and of the Revolution he says frankly, "We lost more in our morals, in the single war of the Revolution, than we ever lost before." [2]

In 1832, when Paul Dean preached, an important change was made in the date of Election Day; whereas it was formerly the first Wednesday after Easter term, it was now appointed for the first Wednesday in January, and so continued thereafter.

Next to the "insidious wiles of foreign influence," of the Farewell Address, the two chief causes which, the Jeremiahs tell us, are finally to destroy this republic, are party spirit and the indifference of citizens to public affairs. "The Duties and Dangers of those who are born Free," by William B. O. Peabody in 1833, speaks as if these were common political shortcomings of that date.

After the democratic fervor in most of these sermons, Jonathan M. Wainwright's sermon for 1835, on the "Inequality of individual

[1] Flint's Election Sermon for 1815, p. 18.

[2] Withington's Election Sermon for 1831, p. 21.

wealth the ordinance of Providence and essential to civilization," must have been annoying to public taste. At this period there was much talk about a prevailing tendency towards communism; to what particular "craze" reference was had I do not know. That there was such a disturbance is evident from Wainwright's sermon, and likewise from that of Andrew Bigelow in 1836, — altogether a "respectable" discourse, and not at all like its great predecessors of the Revolutionary period. Bigelow preached before Samuel T. Armstrong, who was not only Acting Governor, but also at the same time Lieutenant-Governor and Mayor of Boston. His sermon contains a list of Election preachers; as also did David Osgood's in 1809.

Although preachers may have overestimated its effects, it is still true that party feeling was then running very high, — so high that many ministers felt it to be their duty to try to abate the political fever, rather than repeat the indiscreet zeal of the pulpit in the times of 1812. The remarks of a pious and thoughtful man like John Codman, in his sermon for 1840, are well worth reading.

Samuel C. Jackson was well known for his outspokenness, and by reason of it he almost shared the fate of Elijah Parish in 1810. His sermon for 1843 narrowly escaped the condemnation of the Senate. Dr. Park, in his "Memorial of Jackson," gives an account of this episode, and I shall repeat it: —

"He published a few terse essays for the newspapers and only four sermons. One of these sermons illustrates his characteristic style of preaching, not into the air, nor to the winds, but to the men and women before him. . . . Seldom, if ever, has an Election sermon produced a greater excitement. The first printed edition of it (three thousand copies) was soon exhausted, and a second edition soon published. Some of the newspapers printed copious extracts from it, and characterized it as 'vigorous,' 'bold,' 'eloquent,' 'masterly,' 'honest,' 'independent;' others condemned it. Eight of the senators opposed, and thirteen favored, the Senate's vote of thanks to the preacher. On reading the sermon at the present day, one finds it difficult to imagine the reasons for such violence of opposition to it; but on comparing it with the political evils which were rife at the time of its delivery, one sees that it was a sermon for that particular time. . . ." [1]

[1] Memorial of Samuel C. Jackson, by Edwards A. Park, Andover, 1871, p. 18.

There is certainly an astonishing dearth of amenities in such a subject as this. Two hundred and more sermons are not a favorable field in which to turn up many nuggets of wit. The sermon of Milton Palmer Braman for 1845 is a grateful oasis in a vast desert of words. Although it contains eighty-five pages, it has within them a number of pleasantries, and is extremely optimistic. Braman speaks tartly of South Carolina executing "her alarming threat of withdrawing her protection from the general government, and shutting the United States out of the Union." [1] Of the then flourishing transcendental movement, he says, rather neatly, "Christianity needs Christianizing, and its spirit of love to be sublimated into the transcendental, super-exquisite, double-refined philanthropy of the apostles of a civilized Gospel." [2] He comments at some length on Know-Nothingism, which had not then come to be known by that name, and is opposed to immigration of the ignorant.

As late as 1848, it is curious that Alexander H. Vinton should insist on the divine origin of government, something which Election preachers, almost without exception, have been strenuous to deny, following, as I have said elsewhere, the theory of Locke.

The Rev. John Pierce, to whom lovers of antiquity, and of Election Sermons in particular, owe gratitude, preached in 1849. He was, I believe, the longest graduated, at the time of the delivery of his sermon, of any in the long list of preachers, having then been an alumnus of Harvard College for fifty-six years. He deals with the question of temperance, on which these sermons had long been silent; and he also speaks of the charitable endeavors of Miss Dorothea L. Dix. At the end of his address is a list of Election Sermons, with notes which I have had occasion to use. Dr. Pierce had collected for himself thirteen sermons of the seventeenth century, all but four of the eighteenth, and of the nineteenth all down to 1849. This, the finest collection of the kind at that time, was bound by decades, when possible, and after the owner's death was sent to the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library.

It cannot escape notice that the sermon of the great logician of Andover, Edwards A. Park, for 1851, on the "Indebtedness of the State to the Clergy," [3] evaded the most absorbing moral question

[1] Braman's Election Sermon for 1845, p. 34. [2] *Ibid.* p. 40.

[3] Reprinted in Dr. Park's "Discourses on some Theological Doctrines as related to the Religious Character." (1885.)

then before mankind. Coming just after the advocacy of a theocratic democracy in the discourses of Alexander H. Vinton in 1848, and of Edward Hitchcock in 1850, the contrast is sharp which is presented by Rollin H. Neale's statement in 1852 that government, "in its corporate capacity, has no more to do with religion than the directors of a bank or the superintendents of a railway." [1] This preacher was not a sympathizer with Know-Nothingism. He has besides a long note on the now almost forgotten mission of Kossuth.

Not much longer could the discussion of what was uppermost in the popular mind be scorned or avoided. Even the Election preacher must utter something besides graceful periods, and at last even the Vicar of Bray must become a partisan. In the midst of the clamor for human rights could be heard at times the small voice of the conservative pulpit. He who spoke in 1855 carefully avoids all discussion of anything of the slightest contemporary interest or importance, but has his fling at "a self-righteous, self-seeking philanthrophy," [2] by which he would seem to mean the anti-slavery agitation.

It is impossible now to discover how many copies of the earlier sermons were printed in an edition; but at about this time, in the order to print, the number is specified. A few of the sermons were printed as follows: in 1855, 3,000 copies; in 1856, 4,000; in 1857, 3,000; in 1858, 4,000; in 1859, 2,000; in 1860, 3,000; in 1861 and 1863, 8,000; in 1864, 5,000; in 1872, 4,000; in 1873, 3,000; in 1874, 3,000; and in 1876, 1,000 only.

Although the authors of many of these sermons failed to perceive the inevitable drift of public affairs, yet it is creditable to them that so few had "notions" to advance. I have met, in the course of my ramblings through these pages, no proposition more singular than that advanced by Raymond H. Seeley, in 1856, to obviate the evils of spoils-hunting. He would have "put up, annually, certain sums of money and badges of distinctions — stars, garters, and crosses of the legion of honor — to be won by the ballot-box, and distributed among those parties who should secure the largest number of votes." [3]

[1] Neale's Election Sermon for 1852, p. 27, *note*.

[2] Samuel Kirkland Lothrop's Election Sermon for 1855, p. 14.

[3] Seeley's Election Sermon for 1856, p. 23.

Governor Henry J. Gardner was the successful candidate of the Know-Nothing party from 1855 to 1858. In his audience were spoken many things supposed to be grateful to the sentiments of the select political organization which elected him. No other Election Sermon that I can recall is so violent in its religious and race prejudice as John Pike's long diatribe in 1857 against Roman Catholicism. We must forgive this preacher his rashness, for he tells the story (perhaps unconscious of its merits) of the toasting of Archbishop Hughes at Blackwell's Island, New York, as "Our illustrious guest, the representative of the large majority of the inhabitants of the Island!" [1]

Taken as a whole, how few the useful and practical suggestions for every-day life in this immense array of discourses! But as the list grows longer there is noticeably less of the merely doctrinal and conventional, and more, very much more, of effective Christianity and humanity. Edward Everett Hale's address in 1859 was eminently useful. Though very close to the eve of war, it does not refer to national affairs, but is directed against red tape, dead letter, and other evils of bureaucracy, particularly as they relate to public charities. He makes the interesting statement that three times as many men were imprisoned in 1857 as in 1844.[2]

"It would be folly," said Austin Phelps in 1861, "to predict the intelligence of to-morrow's telegraph;" [3] and in his tribute to Freedom he refers significantly to the "hush which precedes the earthquake." [4] The earth had quaked effectually before the next Election Day came, on which occasion William R. Alger spoke. The generation which was young when the Civil War began cannot easily comprehend the spirit of this preacher's address, which seems to refer to some peculiar phase of the public mind. To him the eager patriotism of the time appeared "more like the pride of the country leaping up to avenge an insult." [5] James Walker in his sermon for 1863, yearns for another Washington, while by contrast, the next year, William A. Stearns rejoices that "there is a power in the land hardly second to that of an immense army," [6]

[1] Pike's Election Sermon for 1857, p. 31.
[2] Hale's Election Sermon for 1859, p. 23.
[3] Phelps's Election Sermon for 1861, p. 56.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 48.
[5] Alger's Election Sermon for 1862, p. 40.
[6] Stearns's Election Sermon for 1864, p. 38.

meaning by this the personal character of Abraham Lincoln. "Thank God," he begins, "we have still a country!" During the delivery of his sermon, Dr. Stearns had the misfortune to drop his manuscript. It is remembered of the incident that he asked Dr. Blagden to pray during the picking up of the widely scattered pages.

"Oh! that New England might be, late and forever, what she was at first — Puritan!" [1] — is the solemn wish of Andrew L. Stone in 1865. His words are full of kindness for the desolate South, and for the future of the African race; but he inveighs against "that foul monster, fouler and more misshapen than Satan saw sitting portress at the gate of hell — Party Spirit." [2] Mr. Grinnell, speaking in 1871, takes a different view when he says: "Rather than an indifferentist, give me a violent partisan; rather than a conservative bigot, give me a radical fanatic." [3]

For eloquence pure and simple, Alonzo H. Quint's patriotic discourse in 1866 has struck me as most noteworthy. It is one long, breathless sentence on the power of a democracy to carry on a war in a loyal spirit. In this pamphlet was a list of Election preachers.

In 1868, Dr. James Freeman Clarke comes back to the Gospel of Practical Reform, which the necessities of war had stopped since Mr. Hale had proclaimed it in 1859. He dwells on prison reform, makes the first important defence in these sermons of women's rights, and throws his influence against corporal punishment in schools. How a Stoughton or a Torrey would have shuddered at so practical and direct a view of things. No Hebrew, no Greek, not even a bit of Latin, to garnish the straightforward and simple English! Dr. Clarke found the next year a direct opponent of his views in Benjamin F. Clark, who held that the object of law is to protect, not to reform. At the close of the sermon a hymn seems to have been sung, which, so far as I have noticed, is the only hymn printed in connection with an Election Sermon.

In Grinnell's sermon on Fanaticism in 1871, Mr. Henry H. Edes published his full and important list of Election preachers, upon which I have much relied.

Owing to the declination by William H. H. Murray of an invitation to preach in 1872, Andrew P. Peabody accepted the honor, and

[1] Stone's Election Sermon for 1865, p. 16. [2] *Ibid.* p. 30.
[3] Grinnell's Election Sermon for 1871, p. 26.

discoursed on "The Rights and Dangers of Property." It will be remembered that this was a time of great dissatisfaction in national affairs. The preacher seems to have fallen into the critical vein, and takes a censorious view, even going so far as to say that "We are probably the most heavily taxed people upon the face of the earth."[1] Dr. Peabody's sermon was widely read.

In 1875, Edwin C. Bolles of Salem preached, but his sermon was not printed. There is tolerable certainty that several sermons which were delivered were never printed, particularly those for 1713 and 1717; but it is positive that the sermon for 1875 was never given to the press, although its publication was requested. It is unfortunate that to Mr. Bolles should attach the distinction of being the first preacher to break a clean record of sermons printed continuously since 1765. He seems, however, to have had a reasonable excuse, and I shall not hesitate to give it. It appears that the business of assembling the legislators and of choosing officers had for some years past taken so much of the attention of the General Court, that by the time it was ready to hear the Sermon the hour was quite late, and many of the members failed to attend the ceremony. The preacher was not infrequently detained some time before all was in readiness. This was especially the case in 1875. The Court was late, the audience was so small as to fill about one quarter of the seats, the eloquent preacher was kept waiting. He finally delivered an able discourse, and was, as a matter of course, asked to prepare a copy for the press; but the copy was never presented, and so the long chain was at last broken.

As a result of this culmination of recent delays and inconveniences attending the ceremony, a resolve was approved on 12 May, 1875, "That the annual election sermon shall hereafter be preached in some house of religious worship in the city of Boston, to be designated each year by the Governor, under whose general direction proper arrangements for the service shall be made."[2]

The last few sermons have a peculiar, even melancholy, interest. James L. Hill's for 1878 is unlike the rest in being full of footnotes; Alexander McKenzie's for 1879 was full of poetical quotations; while in 1880 Daniel W. Waldron's tells an "affecting anec-

[1] Peabody's Election Sermon for 1872, p. 19.
[2] Resolves of 1875, chap. 62.

dote," — the first of the homiletic sort which I recall.[1] The most elegantly and attractively printed sermon was Daniel L. Furber's in 1881. It had the honor of two editions, and contains some interesting historical data concerning its predecessors.

There may be some who are of the opinion that this custom fell into disfavor through lack of ability or interest on the part of the ministry of later years. Let such read the sermon for 1882, by Joseph F. Lovering of Worcester, "The Shields of the Earth belong to the Lord." The request to print calls it an "instructive, patriotic, and valuable discourse," and so it is; not one of this long array is more so. Compare its humanity and enthusiasm with the dry, dull pedantry of so much of the remote past of this sort of literature. In 1883, Robert R. Meredith dwelt on the observance of Sunday, marriage laws, intemperance, and other practical questions.

For a few of the later years the sermons were delivered in King's Chapel. It was destined that the last ever spoken should depart from this precedent, since the ceremonies for 1884 took place in the Columbus Avenue Universalist Church. The pastor, the Rev. Alonzo A. Miner, chose for his subject, "The Rectitude of Government the Source of its Power." After a vigorous attack upon social and political evils, among which he included some alleged evils which were dwelt upon in a way which was perhaps intended to be offensive to many of his hearers, he wound up with a salutation to the out-going governor, General Benjamin F. Butler, who had been the chief magistrate during 1883, and had just been defeated for re-election. "Your great success through a long professional career, achieved by extraordinary ability and rare personal energy, command in this hour of retirement from the gubernatorial office general recognition."[2] The hot blood of party strife had not sufficiently cooled from a campaign of almost unparalleled intensity to tolerate this, and shortly afterwards the Election Sermon was abolished. The motion to abolish the custom was made by the Hon. John F. Andrew, son of Governor John A. Andrew. The direct causes were very likely political opposition, and a dislike to hear moral questions discussed politically by ministers; but deeper than the spleen of legislators was the fact that

[1] Waldron's Election Sermon for 1880, p. 20.

[2] Miner's Election Sermon for 1884, p. 46.

the religious character of the people of this Commonwealth no longer appeared to demand a continuance of the old custom.

It is a curious coincidence, though two hundred and fifty years separated the times of their delivery, that the first and the last Massachusetts Election Sermons both ran counter to public sentiment. Cotton's interference in politics in 1634 met with a significant rebuke from his listeners; and in 1884 Dr. Miner hastened an end which, regret it as we may, we can hardly call untimely.

In reading many pages of so much that is representative of New England thought, and of that thought often at its best, two objects have been uppermost, — one, to discover the opinions of our ministry during this stretch of years concerning the sin of slavery; the other, to get facts concerning public morals, especially in relation to intemperance.

To acquit the clergy of New England of indifference in their attitude toward the "sum of all villanies" would be most agreeable if it were possible. The evidence does not stand in our favor; and a candid search only enables one to add more black marks to the unfavorable record compiled by the late Dr. George H. Moore.

The lack of moral enthusiasm on this topic appears in a worse light because, so far as we can learn, great freedom of speech was tolerated on this occasion, even just before the Revolution, when the sermons, being circulated as political and social tracts, were expressly adapted as means to promote reform. It was not as if the ministers had to invent the moral conception that slave-trading or slave-holding was iniquitous; the Body of Liberties early had in some way recognized this fact.[1] Good men, too, made their protests. John Eliot, in 1675, remonstrated against selling Indians into slavery. Cotton Mather's sentiments in this matter were humane. In 1700 Samuel Sewall published his "The Selling of Joseph," — "the first public plea for the emancipation of the negro;"[2] and later Woolman's voice, which was raised against

[1] See Article 91, "Body of Liberties," in 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 231. I do not forget that Dr. Moore, speaking of a case of slave-trading on a Boston vessel in 1645, says: "In all the proceedings of the General Court on this occasion, there is not a trace of anti-slavery opinion or sentiment." — *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, p. 30.

[2] See Mr. Goodell's communication on John Saffin and his slave Adam at the March, 1893, meeting of this Society, *ante*, p. 85 *et seq.*

the enormity, was heard in New England. It may easily have happened that some earlier mention in this series of sermons has escaped my notice; but I do not recall anything of importance antedating Cooke's discourse for 1770, in which he eloquently says: "I trust, on this occasion, I may, without offence, plead the cause of our African slaves; and humbly propose the pursuit of some effectual measure, at least, to prevent the further importation of them."[1] The pulpit of Election Day had then been silent on this theme almost one hundred and forty years.

It is well understood that, in the midst of the Revolution, William Gordon was dismissed from the chaplaincy of the General Court because of his views on slavery.[2] Free speech proved as disastrous to the preacher in 1778 as it did in 1634 and 1884. Yet in 1779 not only anti-slavery but emancipation was advocated by Samuel Stillman: "May the year of jubilee soon arrive, when Africa shall cast the look of gratitude to these happy regions, for the TOTAL EMANCIPATION of HER SONS!"[3] Moses Hemmenway, in 1784, boldly declares that "That inhuman monster SLAVERY, which has too long been tolerated, is at length proscribed. . . . And it is devoutly wished that the turf may lie firm upon its grave."[4] After this is a moral interregnum until 1805, when John Allyn takes up the subject, to drop it speedily "lest something unwelcome should obtrude itself in regard to the social condition of some of our sister States."[5] Three decades more of Election Sermons and Daniel Dana in 1837 speaks out a little more boldly. He would not disturb the political side of the problem, but would attack its weak position on the moral side. Dana also devotes a few words to the Indian policy. Andrew Bigelow in 1836, and David Damon in 1841, in extremely conservative sermons, were unfriendly to the anti-slavery spirit. That, however, was already a spirit which could not be laid by hostile words. There is no uncertainty in the boldness of George Putnam's anti-slavery sentiments in 1846, nor does he omit to express himself on the coming Mexican war. The clergy were

[1] Cooke's Election Sermon for 1770, p. 41.

[2] George H. Moore's Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, p. 194.

[3] Stillman's Election Sermon for 1779, p. 35.

[4] Hemmenway's Election Sermon for 1784, p. 37.

[5] Allyn's Election Sermon for 1805, p. 25.

at last gaining moral courage. The habitual caution of age was moved to express itself when the venerable Dr. Pierce in 1849 assured his hearers that "we shall try by all feasible means to be rid of slavery." [1]

To those who believed in what was then called the Higher Law, Dr. Neale's sermon for 1852 was a wet-blanket; but the next year Samuel Wolcott, in the longest discussion yet devoted to this subject, made amends for previous lukewarmness. "Disobedience is a solemn duty," he affirms, of the Fugitive Slave Law. In 1860, at the eleventh hour, Thomas D. Anderson shows that lack of sympathy with the popular sentiment common to so many of the clergy, when he says, "The exchange of slavery for bloodshed, of civilized homes for servile elevation, the gain of the form of equality, at the dictation of despotic force, makes no progress." [2] With a very few exceptions, therefore, I am convinced that the preachers of the Massachusetts Election Sermons were not outspoken as to slavery. It will have to be admitted that there were two sides to the slavery question, else it would not have been a question. It must also be conceded that the General Court was slow in inviting preachers of a radical turn of mind to address it, and hence it was that men like Lyman Beecher, Theodore Parker, and James Freeman Clarke, were ignored in the critical days before the Civil War.

But there were other evils nearer home which no ministry of any age may treat lightly. Chief among these evils was intemperance. The fact of slavery was patent to everybody, but I cannot find that the fact of drunkenness was equally plain to the ethical perception of our preachers.

The fight against New England's greatest social enemy began early; and yet *ab initio* there were those who could see nothing but an almost Utopian condition of things. The stern witch judge, in 1668, bitterly cries out against "Revellings and Drunkenness;" on the other hand, however, Hutchinson quotes a letter written in 1660 in which the writer states that he "had lived several years in the country and never saw a person drunk nor never heard a profane oath." [3] Hutchinson states elsewhere that he

[1] Pierce's Election Sermon for 1849, p. 48.

[2] Anderson's Election Sermon for 1860, p. 26.

[3] History of Massachusetts, i. 443. I think that Hutchinson is here trying to quote Giles Firmin, whose very words are given later.

"never heard of a separation, under the first charter, *a mensa et thoro*." [1] Stoughton was not the only pessimist in this respect. Willard, in 1682, speaks of "beastly drunkenness;" and in 1689, Cotton Mather, who had a modern zeal for temperance reform, mildly asks, "Whether the *Multitude* or *Quality* of *Drinking-Houses*, in the midst of us, had not once been a *Stumbling-block of our Iniquity*." [2] The next year he is covertly censuring men of the Andros stamp who, he thought, tended to spoil the simple morals of New Englanders, "and learn them to Drink and Drab, and Game, and profane the Sabbath, and *Sin against the Hope of their Fathers*." [3]

Joseph Belcher, in 1701, speaks of the sins of sensuality, idleness, and of drunkenness, especially among the "miserable Indians;" Estabrook, in 1705, continues in the same strain. In 1708, John Norton (of Hingham) arraigns a black host, — "Atheism, prophaneness, sensuality, pride, oppression, lukewarmness," etc.; [4] but drunkenness is not among them. "Is not our Land deluged with *Intemperance* and *Drunkness?*" [5] asks Ebenezer Pemberton in 1710; and later on he speaks of "*Frauds* and *Forgeries* committed upon our *Bills of Publick Credit*." [6] The year before, Grindall Rawson inquires: "Doth not the Shameful and worse than Bruitish Sin of Drunkenness, like an irresistible Inundation, threaten to carry all before it?" [7] and, further, "Are not *hainous*, and fearful breaches of the Seventh Commandment . . . become exceeding frequent?" [8] Peter Thacher is more specific in his charges: "What excessive Tipling and Drinking, which like a Flood even drowns much of Christianity in several places? Especially on Training-day-evenings, which things ought not to be." [9] A few years later, William Williams of Hatfield discourses against disrespect to rulers, laxity as to church-going, and drunkenness. Of the last he says: "It is almost incredible what is said of the Quantities of Rhum bro't into the Country. . . . In many places the *Minister* has but few Visitors to enquire the way of Life: but the *Inn-keeper* is throng'd with

[1] Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, i. 445.
[2] Mather's Election Sermon for 1689, p. 26.
[3] Mather's Election Sermon for 1690, p. 31.
[4] Norton's Election Sermon for 1708, p. 15.
[5] Pemberton's Election Sermon for 1710, p. 99.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 101.
[7] Rawson's Election Sermon for 1709, p. 35.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 35.
[9] Thacher's Election Sermon for 1711, p. 29.

company. . . . When they come from Work they go to the *Tavern;* when dismissed from Trainings they go to the *Tavern.*" [1]

It has seemed to me a reasonable theory that, during the political quiet in New England of the first half of the eighteenth century, an opportunity may have been afforded to the ministry for inquiring more fully into the moral condition of the country. There were no more witches to try, and the Indians were under control; there was really nothing to ponder but the debased currency, the duty to rulers, and man's unceasing weakness and folly. Some ministers endeavored seriously to work a reform, and did not content themselves with conventional regrets over wickedness. "Let it be seriously considered," said Joseph Baxter, in 1727, "whether the Multiplying of Houses that are Licensed to Sell Strong Drink be not the occasion of a great deal of Sin. And is there no remedying of that? Is there nothing more to be done to keep Town-Dwellers from Sotting away their Time at Taverns? And cannot there be something done that will be more effectual to prevent the making of Indians Drunk?" [2]

Thomas Prince, in his sermon for 1730, makes a statement which must have astonished even the generally blameless New Englanders of those days, when he said, "I never heard a *Profane Oath or Curse* till I was *Fifteen* Years of Age, when I came down and heard them first from a Profane Youth of our Metropolis." [3] Still more astounding is the assertion that "Profane Swearers and Drunkards are not known in the Land." [4] If this refers, as must be its intention, to the pristine days of the Colony, Winthrop's Journal conclusively disproves the existence of such felicitous conditions.

Giles Firmin is commonly supposed to have declared in a sermon [5] before the Houses of Lords and Commons, with the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster, that "he never saw a Beggar, nor a Man overcome with strong Drink, nor did he ever hear a profane Oath among them." Israel Loring, who quotes Giles Firmin, as above, in

[1] Williams's Election Sermon for 1719, p. 25.

[2] Baxter's Election Sermon for 1727, p. 32.

[3] Prince's Election Sermon for 1730, p. 35.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 29.

[5] John Ward Dean, in his Brief Memoir of Firmin (p. 11) quotes this a little differently, and seems inclined to doubt if the utterance was that of Firmin.

his Sermon for 1737,[1] proposed that "No Person be allowed to sell strong Drink, but what are of approved Sobriety and good Conversation, Men of Honesty, and good Order." [2] A strong voice against this "Sin, which threatens to Ruin this Land," [3] was raised by Daniel Lewis in 1748. From that time on, for a hundred years, the Election pulpit was virtually silent on this topic. It was not, I think, until Dr. Pierce's sermon in 1849 that the subject was again taken up in earnest.

What is now understood as Prohibition was favored in 1854 by Miner Raymond, and for the first time in these sermons. After him there was a gap, until Henry W. Warren, in 1867, once more revived the theme, which at last, however timidly it has usually been handled, was thoroughly and finally discussed by Dr. Miner.

Not only were the early preachers alive to moral delinquencies, but they were watchful over the wants of education. The first sermons contain many urgent demands for enforcement of laws regarding the "inferior schools." Prince, in 1730, speaking of advantages in his day, mentions "*Grammar Schools* in every Town of an hundred Families, free for the Poorest without Expence." [4]

The custom of preaching the Election Sermon was early felt by the preachers themselves to be important and worthy of maintenance. But Bishop (then the Reverend Mr.) Huntington, in 1858, seems to have anticipated its doom: "If it ever sinks into a mere routine, — the ghastly effigy of a departed sincerity, — it will be because some generation has not honesty and courage to drop the form with the life." [5] The true object of preserving the custom would seem to have been best expressed by the preacher for 1874, when he calls the Election ceremony "a service whose value is not so much in the words that may be spoken, as in the reverent act that is publicly done." [6] But pious wish of preacher, and sentiment for a venerable and peculiar New-England institution cherished in the hearts of a few lovers of the past, could not save the Election Sermon. It seems to have been abolished in a Legislative huff,

[1] Loring's Election Sermon for 1737, p. 27. [2] *Ibid.* p. 51.
[3] Lewis's Election Sermon for 1748, p. 17.
[4] Prince's Election Sermon for 1730, p. 34.
[5] Huntington's Election Sermon for 1858, p. 8.
[6] Richard Gleason Greene's Election Sermon for 1874, p. 24.

but in reality the legislators were tired of it, and the people were forgetting that there was such a thing.

Elections were generally held in May,[1] the last Wednesday in Easter term, until 1832, when the time was changed to the first Wednesday in January. The severities of a New-England winter, and the still greater severities of a New-England spring, would not at first have allowed an earlier gathering of the representative freemen. As it was, the arrangements for their reception were meagre, and their place of gathering rude. We do not learn that any meeting-house was erected until 1632, in which year there was built a one-story thatched-roof structure in what is now State Street, on the site of Brazer's Building.[2] Afterwards the services were held in the new meeting-house, which was built in 1640, on the site of the Rogers Building on Washington Street nearly opposite the head of State Street. Lechford says, "the generall and great quarter Courts are kept" here.[3] Boston had then a fair-sized population, although the polls were meagre in number. Even as late as 1665 only ninety votes were thrown to elect deputies. The next place where the Sermon was preached was the Town House, which was given by Captain Keayne. This structure was finished about the year 1638. In 1711 it was burnt.[4] In 1713 the Council met in the new Town House, now the Old State House. During most of the time, however, the sermons were delivered in the Old South Church. After its disuse as a meeting-house, several were preached in King's Chapel, Hollis Street Church, and the new Old South Meeting-house; the last service, as has been said, was in the Columbus Avenue Universalist Church.

Until recent years considerable interest was shown not only in the ceremonies incident to Election day, but in the "spoken word" itself. We find several references to a "vast assembly;" and as far back as 1673 Oakes speaks of "this great Assembly (so con-

[1] By the charter of 1691 the last Wednesday of May was established "Election-day," and a little later the Artillery election-day was established. — *Memorial History of Boston*, ii. 247.

[2] Memorial History of Boston, i. 119, *note*.

[3] Lechford's "Plain Dealing" (Trumbull's edition), p. 64.

[4] "And that desolating FIRE in our Metropolis, laying so much of our Glory in Ashes, destroying so many goodly Edifices, turning us out of doors, where these Solemnities have been so many years formerly Celebrated." — *Cheever's Election Sermon*, 1712, p. 41.

siderable as to the quality and publick capacity, as well as numerousness of the Auditors)." [1] There was, too, at times a listlessness which is sometimes observable at occasions of a public and official character. This inference may at least be drawn from Stillman's sermon in 1779, in the course of which he almost snappishly remarks: "Had this sentence been duly attended to at the time the sermon was delivered." [2]

In the last century, the legislators, rather than be deprived of a sermon, used sometimes to attend the regular Thursday, or Fifth-day, Lectures, — a series almost as ancient as the Election Sermons, and discontinued in 1833.[3] The Thursday Lecture thus attended would then be considered as an Election Sermon. Cases of this kind are John Webb's sermon, 11 February, 1730–31, and Thomas Foxcroft's, 23 November, 1727.[4]

In addition to the Election Sermon, the Artillery Election Sermon, which is still preached, and the Thursday Lecture, there was the Convention Sermon, — an interesting custom which is now observed, and which took its rise in the ceremonies of Election-day. The Rev. Alexander McKenzie has explained the origin of the Convention Sermon, which seems to have some connection with the present subject.[5]

The preaching of Election Sermons was not confined to Massachusetts, though, as the Rev. Albert Barnes remarks, "The custom, so far as we know, is peculiar to New England."

While the Plymouth Colony maintained a distinct government, Election Sermons were delivered there; but I will not now attempt to describe them.

In Connecticut the Sermons were preached during a period of one hundred and fifty-six years, beginning in 1674 and ending in

[1] Oakes's Election Sermon for 1673, p. 24.

[2] Stillman's Election Sermon for 1779, p. 20, *note*.

[3] See Nathaniel L. Frothingham's "The Shade of the Past," Boston, 1833.

[4] In connection with these *extra* sermons, Dr. George H. Moore has called attention to the fact that there were generally two or more sessions, but not more than eight instances during the whole Provincial period of a second Assembly in one political year.

[5] Memorial History of Boston, ii. 223.

1830. In Chauncey Lee's Connecticut Election Sermon for 1813 an account of this extensive series may be found.[1]

The first Election Sermon in New Hampshire was delivered by Samuel McClintock in 1784; the last one was by Nathan Lord in 1831. No sermons were preached in 1793 or 1795.[2]

In 1778 the custom was begun in Vermont by Peter Bowers. There were no sermons for 1790, 1800, and 1831; but in 1834 Warren Skinner preached the last regular Vermont Election Sermon. In 1856 an attempt was made to revive the custom, which continued for three years, from 1856 to 1858.[3]

No set of the Massachusetts Sermons exists which can be called complete, — that is, which contains all those known to have been published. The best collection is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It contains all but two, — those for 1696 and 1699. Of these Dr. Samuel A. Green, the Librarian of the Society, owns a copy of the sermon for 1699, by Increase Mather. Of the other, that for 1696, a copy is in possession of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, and another in the Boston Public Library. The Historical Society began early to strengthen itself in this important branch of the literature of the State, for in 1809 it was proposed "that Dr. Eliot, Mr. Alden, and Mr. McKean be a committee to prepare lists of preachers on the General Election, Artillery Election, and Convention, marking such of the sermons as the Society possess, which they shall endeavor to have inserted as appendices to the next sermons on those occasions."[4] In 1794 only twenty-one of those who preached before 1700 were known, and it was then thought that there was no sermon in 1721 on account of small-pox.

To the assiduity of Dr. John Pierce is due the best part of the

[1] A complete list, compiled by Ralph D. Smyth, is in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1892, xlvi. 123.

[2] A complete list of the New-Hampshire Election Sermons is in the Congregational Quarterly for July, 1868, x. 240; and an earlier list is in William Allen's Sermon for 1818.

[3] An account of the Vermont discourses is in the Historical Magazine for March, 1868 (New Series, iii. 175). An earlier account, in the Congregational Quarterly for April, 1867 (ix. 187), was reprinted from the Vermont Record. Both articles are signed P. H. W., the initials, doubtless, of Pliny H. White.

[4] Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, for May, 1809, i. 213.

Society's collection. In September, 1844, he stated that it had "been the aim of the subscriber from an early period of his ministry, to collect the printed Sermons delivered at the General Election of Massachusetts, which as fast as procured, are bound in decades." [1]

The next best set of the Election Sermons is in the Boston Public Library, if the volumes in the Old South, or Prince, Library be considered as part of the collections of that institution. This set contains all printed sermons, with the exception of the years 1671, 1695, 1700, 1708, 1711, 1715.

A complete set from 1747, with sixteen separate sermons previous to that date, is in the New York State Library. The Library of the Essex Institute has the sermons for the years 1683, 1698, 1703–1707, 1710, 1718, 1721, 1724–32, 1743–1884. The Andover Theological Seminary has the sermons from 1745, with about half a dozen exceptions. Other large libraries are so well represented that it is plain that this branch of Americana does not suffer neglect. Several private collectors have been industrious and successful. Dr. Pierce was the first and most fortunate. The late George Brinley had a finely preserved set running from the year 1793 to 1850, which is now in the Boston Public Library.

To be invited to preach was always an honor; several preachers were asked on more than one occasion. Thomas Shepard (the first), Jonathan Mitchel, Thomas Cobbett, Samuel Willard, Joshua Moody, Benjamin Colman, Samuel Cooper, and James Walker, each preached twice; Richard Mather, John Norton, and Samuel Torrey, each three times; Increase and Cotton Mather, each four times. Some of the earliest preachers may have officiated oftener. The three Mathers preached over four per cent of the whole two hundred and fifty-six sermons. It may be interesting to notice that Election Preachers were long lived. John Pierce was the longest graduated at the time of his preaching, — that is, fifty-six years; Samuel Cheever was also a graduate of fifty-six years, and James Walker of forty-nine years. Eighteen had been out of college for forty years or more when they preached.

It may be observed that Jonathan Mitchel, Cotton Mather, Joseph Belcher, and William Allen preached eleven years after

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, ii. 293, 294.

graduation; Jonathan Mayhew, William B. Sprague, and John W. Yeomans, ten years after; Charles E. Grinnell, nine years after; and James L. Hill, seven years after. Dr. Pierce gives twenty-eight and one half years as the average time of delivery after graduation down to the year 1849.

From 1634 to 1879 one hundred and forty-three of the preachers were Harvard graduates; there being one period, between 1681 and 1786, when only alumni of that college received the honor. There were eight graduates of Cambridge University; five of Oxford; eleven of Yale; nine of Dartmouth College; four of Williams; three of Amherst; two each of Bowdoin, Brown University, and the University of Pennsylvania; one each of Columbia, Iowa, Miami, Middlebury, Trinity, Union, University of New York, and Wesleyan. Of non-graduates there were only twenty, and of these, fourteen were in the present century.

Five of the preachers went to college but did not graduate, namely: Richard Mather, Thomas Cobbett, and John Oxenbridge, to Oxford; Samuel Torrey and William Brimsmead, to Harvard.

In regard to the various denominations to which the preachers belonged, Dr. Pierce gives statistics; but inasmuch as he put down all Trinitarians and Unitarians as Congregationalists, I have not made use of his results.

No Roman Catholic clergyman seems to have taken part in the ceremonies of Election-day; it is worthy of note, however, that in 1791 Bishop John Carroll returned thanks at the Artillery Election dinner.[1]

Lists of Election Preachers were printed as follows: in Samuel Deane's sermon for 1794, giving full name, residence, and text; in David Osgood's for 1809, and in Andrew Bigelow's for 1836, both giving full name, place, text, and size; in John Pierce's for 1849, and in Alonzo H. Quint's for 1866, both giving full name, place, text, Alma Mater, and date of graduation. The fullest as well as latest list of the preachers of these Sermons, however, giving year, full name, residence, text, Alma Mater, and date of graduation, was compiled by Mr. Henry H. Edes, and published in an appendix to Mr. Grinnell's Sermon. This list ends in 1871. The following list prepared upon the same plan, completes the series: —

[1] American Museum, June, 1791, ix. App. iii. p. 43.

Year.	Preacher.	Residence.	Text.	Alma Mater.
1872	Andrew Preston Peabody	Cambridge.	Exodus xx. 15.	Harvard Coll. 1826.
1873	George Claude Lorimer[1] .	Boston.	Matt. v. 17, 18.	
1874	Richard Gleason Greene[2] .	Springfield.	Jeremiah ii. 31.	
1875	Edwin Cortland Bolles[3] .	Salem.	Luke vi. 47, 48.	Trinity Coll. 1855.
1876	Samuel Wesley Foljambe[4]	Malden.	1 Kings viii. 57.	
1877	Benj. Franklin Hamilton .	Roxbury.	Rom. xiii. 1, 6.	Amherst Coll. 1861.
1878	James Langdon Hill . .	Lynn.	John iv. 38.	Iowa Coll. 1871.
1879	Alexander McKenzie . .	Cambridge.	James iv. 12.	Harvard Coll. 1859.
1880	Daniel Wingate Waldron	Boston.	Deut. viii. 2.	Bowdoin Coll. 1862.
1881	Daniel Little Furber . .	Newton.	Prov. xxix. 18.	Dartmouth Coll. 1843.
1882	Joseph Foster Lovering[5] .	Worcester.	Ps. xlvii. 9.	
1883	Robert Rhoden Meredith[6]	Boston.	Prov. xiv. 34.	
1884	Alonzo Ames Miner[7] . .	Boston.	Ps. lxxxix. 14.	

[1] George Claude Lorimer, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, 1838, took a course of study in Georgetown College, Ky., which gave him the degree of LL.D., in 1885; he has also received the degree of D.D. from Bethel College.

[2] Richard Gleason Greene, a graduate at Andover Theological Seminary, 1853; received the degree of A.M. from Yale, 1873.

[3] Edwin Cortland Bolles. The middle name of Mr. Bolles is variously given as Cortlandt and Courtland. I follow the spelling found in the Quinquennial Catalogue of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

[4] Samuel Wesley Foljambe, born in Leeds, England, received a liberal education; was first a Methodist, afterwards a Baptist, preacher. Received the degree of A.M. from Grandville College, Columbus, Ohio, and of D.D. from Central University, Pella, Iowa.

[5] Joseph Foster Lovering, born in Kingston, Mass., 18 Aug. 1835; was in the Harvard College class of 1856, but did not graduate; and spent one year in the Divinity School at Cambridge. He was subsequently at Meadville, Pa.

[6] Robert Rhoden Meredith, born in Ireland, 1838, received the degree of A.M. from Wesleyan, 1875; and of D.D. from Dartmouth, 1882.

[7] Alonzo Ames Miner, President of Tufts College, 1862–1875; received the degree of A.M. from Tufts, 1861; of S.T.D., from Harvard, 1863; and of LL.D. from Tufts, 1875.

It would perhaps have been a gain to this paper to have tabulated many isolated bibliographical data; in fact it would have been agreeable to my plan to give a complete bibliography of the sermons, — if not of the entire series, at least of those delivered in the seventeenth century. Such expansion, however, has not seemed advisable in view of the fact that Dr. Samuel A. Green gives full and accurate titles of the earlier sermons in his recent and valuable List of Early American Imprints belonging to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1]

Mr. Edes's list still remains, after nearly twenty-five years, a sound and useful piece of work. My supplementary list for 1872 to 1884 inclusive, and the following tabulations for years in which no sermons were preached, and for years in which sermons were preached and not printed, will, I trust, furnish all that is essential

[1] This List appeared while Mr. Swift's paper was passing through the press. See 2 Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings for February, 1895, ix. 410 *et seq.*

to be added. Some of the sermons have passed to the honor of more than one edition; such cases I have sought to notice in passing.

YEARS IN WHICH NO SERMONS WERE PREACHED.

1635, 1636, 1639, 1640, 1642, 1647, 1650–1655, 1662, 1687, 1688, 1691, 1752, 1764.

SERMONS PREACHED BUT NOT KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN PRINTED.

1634. John Cotton.
1637. Thomas Shepard.
1638. Thomas Shepard.
1641. Nathaniel Ward.
1643. Ezekiel Rogers.
1644. Richard Mather.
1645. John Norton.
1646. Edward Norris.
1648. Zechariah Symmes.
1649. Thomas Cobbett.
1656. Charles Chauncy.
1657. John Norton.
1658. Jonathan Mitchel.
1659. John Eliot.
1660. Richard Mather.
1664. Richard Mather.
1665. John Russell.
1666. Thomas Cobbett.
1669. John Davenport.
1675. Joshua Moody.
1678. Samuel Phillips.
1680. Edward Bulkley.
1681. William Brimsmead.
1684. John Hale.
1686. Michael Wigglesworth.
1692. Joshua Moody.
1697. John Danforth.
1713. Samuel Treat.
1717. Roland Cotton.
1875. Edwin C. Bolles.

Of these, however, Mather in 1644, Cobbett in 1649, Moody in 1675, Hale in 1684, Wigglesworth in 1686, Treat in 1713, Cotton in 1717, and Bolles in 1875 were asked by the Court to furnish a copy for the press. Shepard's for 1638 exists in outline as elsewhere described; Richard Mather's for 1660 was quoted by Mitchel seven years later as if printed; the Magnalia speaks of Davenport's for 1669 as "afterwards published;" while Moody's for 1692 is in Haven's list. These and other of the missing sermons have been touched upon more fully in due order throughout the foregoing pages of this list.

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